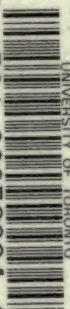


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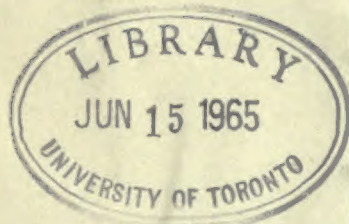
THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LATE WAR
IN
NORTH - AMERICA,
AND THE
ISLANDS OF THE WEST-INDIES,
INCLUDING
THE CAMPAIGNS OF ¹⁷⁶³MDCCLXIII AND ¹⁷⁶⁴MDCCLXIV
AGAINST HIS MAJESTY'S INDIAN ENEMIES.

By THOMAS MANTE,
ASSISTANT ENGINEER DURING THE SIEGE OF THE HAVANNA,
AND MAJOR OF A BRIGADE IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1764.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR W. STRAHAN; AND T. CADELL IN THE STRAND.
MDCCLXXII.

1772



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TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER;

THIS ATTEMPT TO RECORD
THE GLORIOUS ATCHIEVEMENTS
OF THE NAVY AND THE ARMY
EMPLOYED IN THE REDUCTION
OF CANADA, LOUISBOURG, GUADALOUPE,
MARTINICO, THE HAVANNA,
AND THE RETAKING OF NEWFOUNDLAND,
IS MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED

BY

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

MOST OBLIGED, OBEDIENT,

HUMBLE SERVANT,

LONDON, AUGUST 12.

1772.

THOMAS MANTE.

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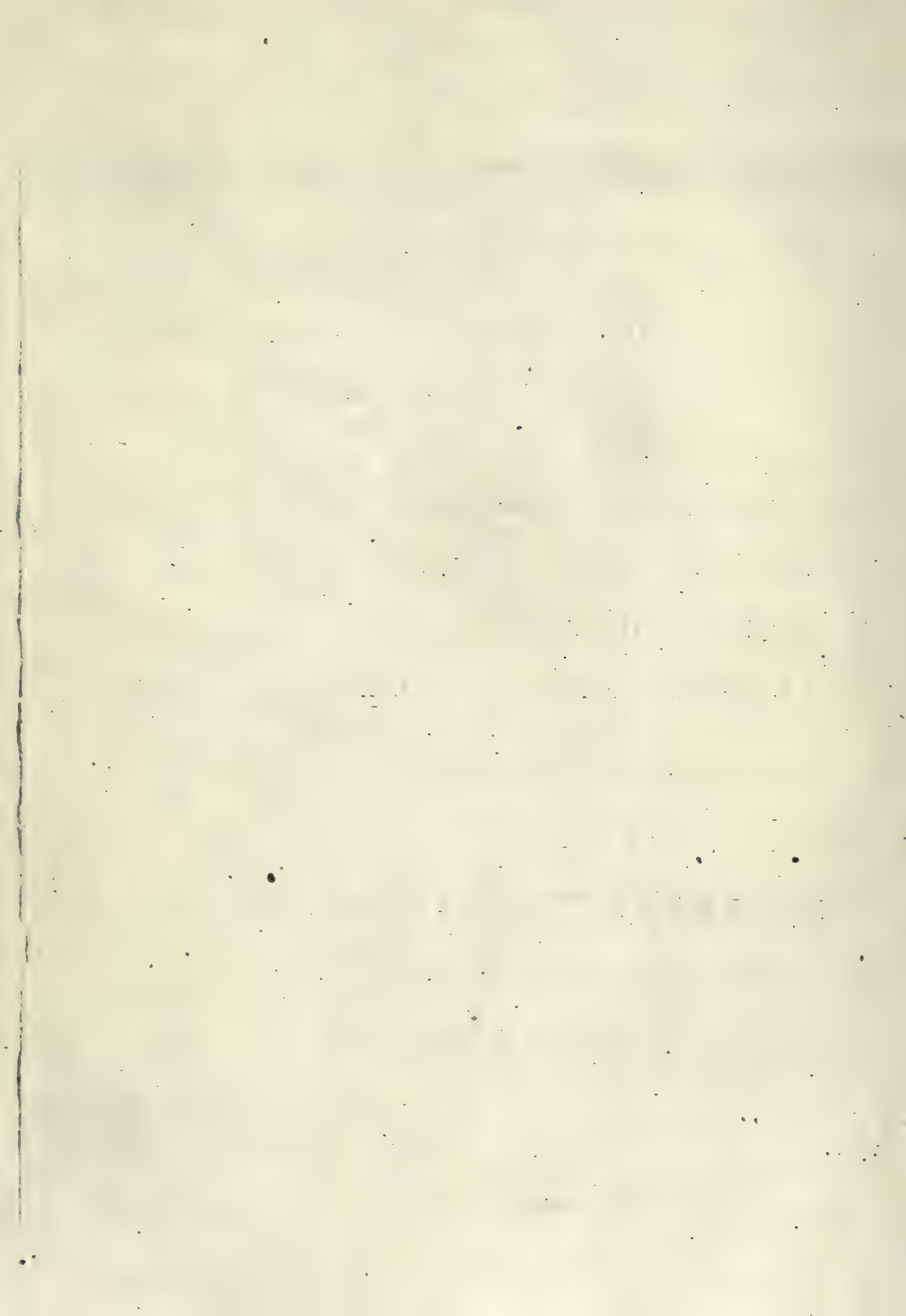
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INTRODUCTION.

BY the treaty of Utrecht, confirmed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle, the boundaries of the French and English possessions in North America were so vaguely settled, as to allow the court of France new pretexts for extending her dominion in that part of the world, and to make such attempts to encroach upon the English territories, as would in time totally exclude them from so vast a continent. Accordingly, the French, with this view, determined to erect a chain of forts on the back settlements of the English, from the river St. Lawrence to the Mississippi; they pursued, with incessant ardour, every method to ingratiate themselves with the natives, and effectually win them over to their interest, whilst the mother-country liberally contributed all the supplies requisite to carry into execution these grand, however unfair, designs.

Representations against such proceedings were not neglected by the English. Memorials were delivered to the French ministry; and these produced the appointment of commissioners, who met at Paris, and opened their respective commissions on the 21st of September 1750. M. de la Galiffioniere and M. de Silhouette were chosen on the part of France; and Mr. Shirley and Mr. Mildmay on that of Great Britain. The design of the court of London, in agreeing to this measure, was amicably

to settle the true limits of the French and English territories in North America; but it soon appeared, it was by no means that of the court of Versailles. In proportion as the English commissioners advanced in their inquiries, such futile objections were started, and such unnecessary delays contrived, by the French, as obliged Mr. Shirley and Mr. Mildmay to break up the conferences and return to England.

In the mean time, the French continued to erect forts on the western frontiers of Virginia, which lie upon the Ohio; nor were they less attentive to what seemed to be another grand plan, that of encroaching upon such parts of the northern colonies of the English as were actually inhabited. M. du Quesne, who succeeded M. de la Galissioniere in the government of Canada, having received instructions to take possession of the countries on the Ohio for the crown of France, in the beginning of the year 1753, ordered the Sieur de St. Pierre with a detachment to take post on the river aux Bœufs, and there to remain until he received farther orders. De St. Pierre took post there accordingly, and erected a fort for it's security. Of this Mr. Dinwiddie, lieutenant-governor of Virginia, had early intelligence; which was confirmed by a messenger he had dispatched to explore the encroachments of the French, and reconnoitre their situation. This messenger reported, that the French had fifteen hundred regular troops in those parts; that they had built three forts on the frontiers; that, as they had not met with any opposition, they were resolved to maintain their ground: to which he added, that, unless the English likewise pursued vigorous measures, and built forts on the river Mississippi, the French would, in a short time, fortify themselves there so effectually, as to make it impossible to expel them. This

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alarming

alarming advice induced Governor Dinwiddie to send, by Mr. Washington, the following spirited letter to the French commandant on the river aux Bœufs:

S I R,

THE lands upon the river Ohio, in the western parts of the colony of Virginia, are so notoriously known to be the property of the crown of Great Britain, that it is a matter of equal concern and surprize to me, to hear that a body of French forces are erecting fortresses and making settlements upon that river, within his Majesty's dominions. The many and repeated complaints I have received of these acts of hostility, lay me under the necessity of sending, in the name of the king my master, the bearer hereof, George Washington, Esq; one of the adjutants-general of the forces of this dominion, to complain to you of the encroachments thus made, and of the injuries done to the subjects of Great Britain, in violation of the law of nations, and the treaties now subsisting between the two crowns. If these are facts, and you think fit to justify your proceedings, I must desire you to acquaint me, by whose authority and instructions, you have lately marched from Canada with an armed force, and invaded the king of Great Britain's territories, in the manner complained of; that, according to the purport and resolution of your answer, I may act agreeably to the commission I am honoured with, from the king my master. However, Sir, in obedience to my instructions, it becomes my duty to require your peaceable departure; and that you would forbear prosecuting a purpose so interruptive of the harmony and good understand-

ing which his majesty is desirous to continue and cultivate with the most Christian king. I am, &c.

Williamsburgh,
October the 31st, 1753.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

With this letter, Mr. Washington received instructions to procure all the intelligence he possibly could of the situation of the French, and the encroachments they had made. It was late in the season, namely, the 22d of November, before he could reach the Monangahela; on his arrival there, he found that the French troops had retired into winter-quarters. Three days after, however, he met some French deserters, who informed him, that they were part of an hundred men who had been sent with eight canoes laden with provisions from New Orleans to Kuskaskas, with a promise of being there joined by a party from the Mississipi to convoy them up the river; that the French had built four small forts between New Orleans and the Black Islands, and garrisoned them with thirty or forty men; that, at New Orleans, near the mouth of the Mississipi, there were thirty-five companies of forty men each, with a fort of six carriage guns; and, at Black Islands, several companies, and a fort of eight guns. They also acquainted him, that there was a small palisadoed fort on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Ouabach. An Indian trader, who accompanied these deserters, added, that, at Shanaoh town, he had seen a Sachem of the Six Nations, from whom he had learned, that a fort had been erected on Lake Erie; and another, on a small lake about fifteen miles distant, with a good road between them; that three Indian nations, subject to the French, had taken up the
hatchet

hatchet against the English; that the French had assembled the Mingos and Delawares, telling them, that they intended to have been down the river that Autumn, but were obliged, by the inclemency of the weather, to defer their expedition till the Spring, when they should certainly attack the English, and doubted not of being able to give a good account of them: at the same time soothing these Indians to their interest with such success, as to obtain from them a promise of assistance. Mr. Washington then proceeded to Venango, where he arrived the 4th day of December. This fort was commanded by M. Joncaire, who conducted Mr. Washington to another fort, at which the French commandant, M. de St. Pierre, had taken up his winter-quarters. This gentleman entertained Mr. Washington with great politeness; and, after some conferences on the business of his commission, gave him the following answer to Governor Dinwiddie's letter.

S I R,

AS I have the honour of commanding here in chief, Mr. Washington delivered to me the letter which you wrote to the commander of the French troops. I should have been glad, that you had given him orders, or that he himself had been disposed, to proceed to Canada, to see our general, to whom it better belongs than to me, to exhibit and prove the titles of the king my master, to the lands situate along the river Ohio, and to examine the pretensions of the king of Great Britain thereto. I shall transmit your letter to the marquis du Quesne. His answer will be a law to me: and if he shall order me to communicate it to you, Sir, you may be assured

assured that I shall not fail to dispatch it forthwith. As to the summons you send me to retire, I do not think myself obliged to obey it. Whatever may be *your* instructions, I am here by virtue of the orders of *my* general; and, I intreat you, Sir, not to doubt, one moment, of my being determined to obey them with all the exactness and resolution which can be expected from the best officer. I do not know that, in the progress of this campaign, any thing has passed, which can be deemed an act of hostility, or any way contrary to the treaties which subsist between the two crowns; the continuation of which is as much the interest of, and as pleasing to us, as the English. Had you been pleased, Sir, to particularize the facts which occasioned your complaint, I should have had the honour of answering you in the fullest, and, I am persuaded, the most satisfactory manner.

From the fort on the

river aux Bœufs,

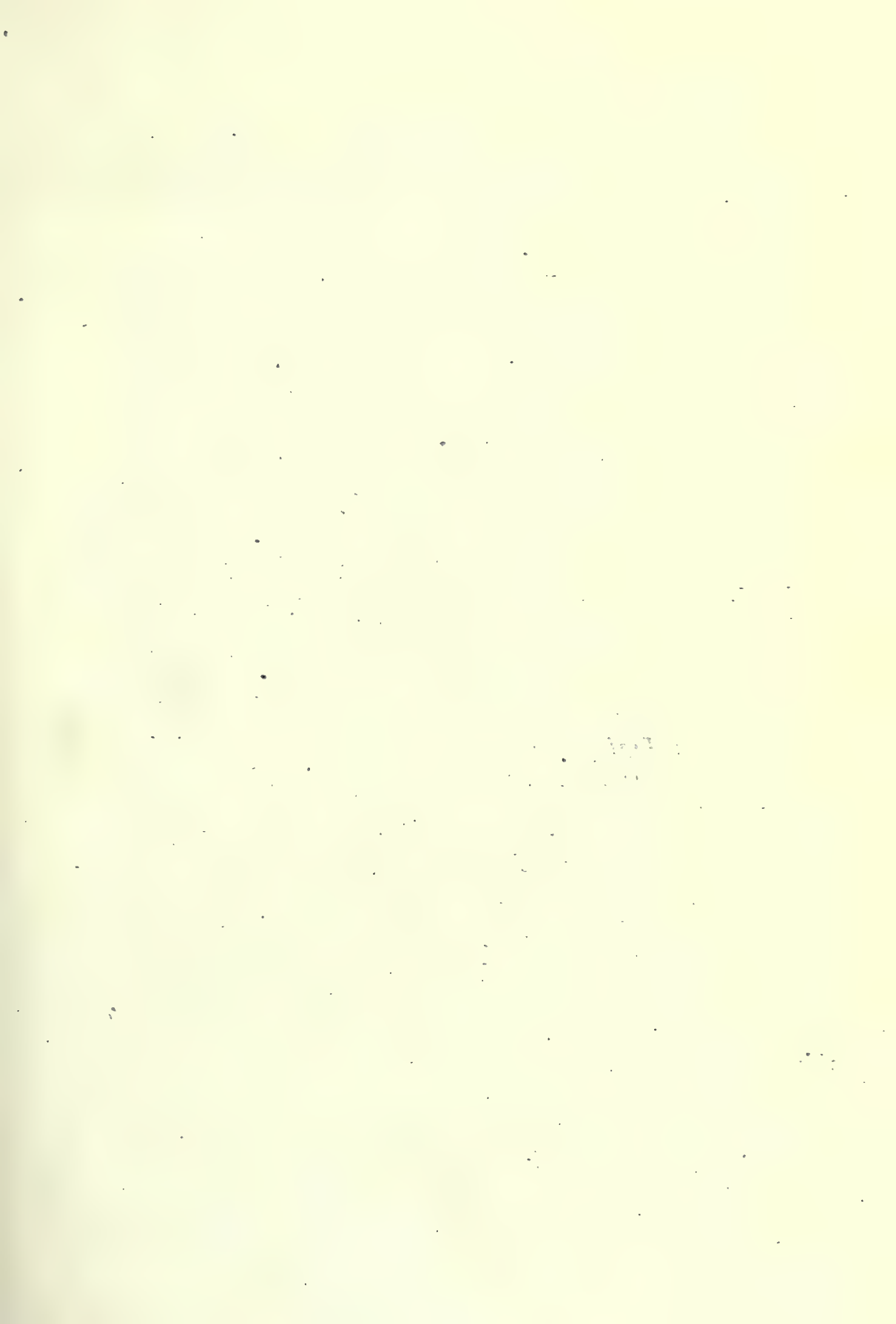
December 16th, 1753.

LEGARDIER DE ST. PIERRE.

With this answer, Mr. Washington set out on the 16th of December, from M. de St. Pierre's quarters. On his return, he very providentially escaped being treacherously murdered by an Indian who attended him in the double capacity of guide and interpreter. This wretch, contrary to the usual custom of his countrymen, kept up a continual whooping, the whole way, in spite of all Mr. Washington's orders and entreaties to make him desist; and, one day in particular, greatly protracted the ordinary time of marching, so as to afford Mr. Washington just reason to suspect that he had hopes of being joined, with

no friendly design, by some other Indians. Nor did he suspect more mischief than was intended. One evening, as Mr. Washington, and Mr. Guest his companion, were moving on, the guide, who was at a small distance from them, suddenly presented his piece, and fired at Mr. Washington, but luckily missed him. Upon this, Mr. Guest proposed immediately to destroy the Indian; but was prevailed upon by Mr. Washington to desist, as the Indian countries through which they had passed knew they were attended by this man, and, on missing him, would conclude, notwithstanding any arguments that could be used to prove the contrary, that they had wantonly murdered him. Therefore, to avoid any new disputes with the savages, which, they knew, could not but be attended with very ill consequences, particularly at this juncture, they contented themselves with immediately separating from him. However, to avoid farther treachery, they marched full sixty miles without halting. At length, after encountering many difficulties and dangers, they arrived safe at Williamsburgh, on the 16th January, 1754.

The contests on the subject of the French and English possessions on the Continent of North America, from the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to this time, were chiefly confined to memorials and representations. No part of the occurrences within that period can be considered as immediately appertaining to the history of the war. Nevertheless, I thought it would not be improper to present my readers with this introductory detail; especially, as some of these transactions gave rise to the events, which, agreeable to my engagements with the public, I am now to relate.



THE HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

BOOK I.

The province of Virginia prepares to oppose the encroachments of the French.—Mr. Washington takes the field; defeats M. Jumonville; is defeated, in his turn, by M. Villier.—Major General Braddock arrives; is defeated by M. Dumat, and dies of his wounds: defence of his conduct.—Major General Shirley takes upon him the command of the English forces; proceeds to Oswego; returns to Albany.—Major General Johnson's expedition; he is attacked by M. le Baron Dieskau, but is victorious; he erects Fort William-Henry; puts his army into winter-quarters, and returns to Albany.—Distress of the English Back-settlers; military operations undertaken to protect them.—Obstinacy of the Pennsylvanians in not agreeing to any warlike preparations; they yield at last to the prayers and threats of the Back-settlers, and pass a militia act.—The act.—The other colonies very remiss in preparing for their defence.—Remonstrances and instructions of the distressed inhabitants of the back settlements.—Council of war at Albany.—General Shirley endeavours to unite the divided colonies, and conciliate the affections of the Indians.—Measures agreed to in consequence thereof.—General Shirley ordered to England.

THE hostile designs of the court of France being sufficiently apparent, from the transactions we have related in the introduction, Mr. Dinwiddie, lieutenant-governor of

C

Virginia,

1754.

Virginia, the province most exposed, thought it his duty, without any fresh orders from Great Britain, to employ all the authority with which he was already invested, to put a stop to their encroachments. For this purpose, he prevailed on the assembly of Virginia to vote the sum of 10,000*l.*; and, likewise, proposed the levying of a regiment of militia; and that the Ohio company of merchants, who had procured an exclusive grant from the crown to settle the lands on the Ohio, should, in compliance with their engagements with government, immediately raise thirty men, and send them to take post at the forks of that river, a spot which, from its situation, was supposed to be that the French would first endeavour to seize upon. These men were accordingly raised; and immediately proceeded to the place of their destination, where, on their arrival, they began to execute their orders by laying the foundations of a fort; but, on the 18th of April, 1754, when it was scarcely above the surface of the ground, M. de Contrecoeur appeared before it with a body of twelve hundred men, and summoned the commanding officer to retire, which he accordingly did, for want of sufficient strength to defend himself. In the mean time, the provincial troops proposed to be raised in Virginia, were nearly completed; and part of them ordered to reinforce those of the Ohio company. The colonel of this body dying soon after he took the field, the command devolved on the lieutenant-colonel, Mr. Washington; who, continuing his rout, met the Ohio company on their return home at Wills creek.

On the 27th, in the evening, Colonel Washington being encamped on the great meadows, Monacatootha and the Half King, two principal Sachems of the Five Nations, brought
advice,

1751.

advice, "That a party of French had been sent to intercept him, but had missed him in the woods; that they had retired to a small distance, and were that night encamped in a very thick and secret place about half a mile out of the road." Colonel Washington, on receiving this intelligence, prepared his men for action, and in the night set out with them to attack the French. At the dawn of day he arrived at their encampment, and immediately attacked it: out of the whole party, which consisted of M. Jumonville and forty-five men, but one escaped; the rest were either killed or taken prisoners. The colonel then erected a small fort, which, from the reason of his erecting it, he called Fort Necessity, as it was to protect him till the arrival of a body of men which were to follow from the provinces of New York and the Carolinas. Soon after, he was joined by the remainder of the Virginia troops, and a company from South Carolina, which increased his little army to four hundred effective men: this number however being too small for any farther offensive operations, he employed them in clearing a road to Red-Stone Creek; there he received advice that M. de Contrecoeur had detached M. de Villier with a thousand regular troops, and an hundred Indians, to demand satisfaction for the attack on M. Jumonville. Upon this, Colonel Washington immediately returned to Fort Necessity, where he determined to wait the arrival of the troops promised by the province of New York. But, on the 3d of July, the enemy appeared before the fort, and at about eight in the morning, began to attack it so warmly, that by eight in the evening of the same day, Mr. Washington thought proper to agree to a cessation of arms proposed by M. de Villier, which terminated in the following extraordinary capitulation:

1754.

Capitulation granted the 3d of July, 1754, by M. de Villier, Commandant of his most Christian Majesty's forces, to the English troops in Fort-Neceffity, built on the lands within the king's dominions.

Art. I. We give the English commander leave to retire with all his garrison, and return peaceably into his own country; and promise to prevent his receiving any insults from the French troops under us, or from the savages with us, as much as shall be in our power.

II. The English shall likewise have leave to carry off all that belongs to them, except the artillery, which we reserve.

III. We will allow them the honours of war; that is, to march out, drums beating, with a swivel gun; being willing to shew them that we consider them as friends.

IV. As soon as the articles are signed on both sides, the English are to strike their colours.

V. To morrow, at break of day, a detachment of French shall be admitted to see the garrison file off, and take possession of the fort.

VI. And, as the English are not well provided with oxen or horses, they are free to hide their effects, and come and search for them when they have met with their horses; they may even for this purpose leave watchmen behind them, in what number they please, on condition they give their word of honour not to work upon any buildings in this place, or on this side of the mountain, during a year, to be reckoned from this day: And, as the English have in their power an officer of our's, two cadets, and most of the common men

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made prisoners at the *assassination* of the Sieur de Jumonville, (an officer charged with a summons, as appears by his writings,) they are to promise to send them back to Fort du Quesne, situated on the Ohio. And, as a security for their performing the whole of this capitulation, and the present article in particular, Mr. Jacob Vanbraam, and Mr. Robert Stobo, both captains in the English service, shall be left as hostages till the arrival of the Canadians and French above-mentioned. We oblige ourselves, on our part, to furnish these two officers with an escort, to convey them safe home. We expect our countrymen shall be restored us in two months and a half at farthest; a duplicate being made upon one of the posts of our blockade the day above.

CON. VILLIER.

This capitulation was written in French; and, as neither Mr. Washington nor any of his party understood that language, a foreigner was employed to read it to them in English. But, instead of acting the part of a faithful interpreter, when he came to the odious word *assassination*, he translated it "the defeat of M. Jumonville." This I have the best authority to assert; the authority of the English officers who were present. Indeed, the thing speaks for itself. It cannot be supposed that these gentlemen should know so little of what they owed to themselves, both as men and as soldiers, as not to prefer any extremity rather than submit to the disgrace of being branded with the imputation of so horrid a crime.

After all, had they been really guilty of this charge, they could scarce have been worse used than they were: the capitulation:

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tulation was scarcely signed, when it was most shamefully broken; the officers were kept prisoners for some time; the whole of their baggage was plundered; and all their horses and cattle killed on the spot. However, at length, Colonel Washington retired in as good order as his situation would admit. On his return, he met the New-York and North-Carolina companies at Winchester. Had they joined him at the appointed time, there is no doubt but that he would have secured a post till he had received such farther reinforcements as would have enabled him to dislodge the French, and drive them from the country they had usurped. To compensate as much as possible for this disappointment, he halted at Wills Creek, and assisted in erecting a fort there, which was afterwards called Fort Cumberland. Meanwhile, the governor of the English colonies lost no time in transmitting to London an account of these transactions; and, in consequence of which, the British ambassador at Paris had immediate orders sent to him to remonstrate seriously against them, as so many infractions of the treaty of peace subsisting between the two nations. But the French ministry, far from paying any regard to these remonstrances, no longer took any pains to conceal their hostile intentions. They publicly gave orders for the speedy reinforcement of their colonies with men and military stores; that of Quebec in particular, in order to enable it to follow, without loss of time, the blow they had already struck in that part of the world; and M. le Baron Dieskau, and M. de Vaudreuil, actually embarked for Canada with troops and orders to attack Oswego. But the English ministry contented themselves with sending cautionary instructions to their governors to unite in their defence, and ordering, that, in case the subjects of any foreign prince should

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should presume to make any incroachments on the dominions of the king of England, by erecting forts on his lands, or committing any other act of hostility, and should, after being required to desist from such proceedings, still persist in them, they should then draw out the armed force of their respective provinces, and use their best endeavours to repel force by force. The English governors were likewise ordered to form a confederacy; and Mr. Delancy, lieutenant-governor of New York, was appointed to confer with the chiefs of the Five Nations, and endeavour, by presents and every other means, to secure them firm to the British interest. Commissioners were accordingly deputed from the several provinces to form this congress, which was appointed to be held at Albany on the 14th of June, 1754; but few Indians repaired to it, and these, instead of shewing any great willingness to assist, made no scruple openly to blame the conduct of the English, and as openly applaud that of the French, who had been so diligent to maintain their settlements, and protect their allies; whilst the English, they said, left both their settlements and their allies exposed to ruin and destruction. They however accepted the British presents, renewed their ancient treaties, and expressed a desire to receive vigorous assistance from the English, in order to drive the French from their invaded territories.

At this meeting, measures were proposed for forming a general union between the colonies, and establishing a fund, by way of military chest, for defraying all the extraordinary expences incident to a state of war. But the clashing interests of the provinces, in matters of much less moment, prevented these salutary measures being properly adopted.

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Whilst the congress was yet sitting, Mr. Shirley, as governor of the province of Massachusetts Bay, prevailed on that province to build a fort near the head of the river Kennebec, and make provision for eight hundred men, to protect it from the inroads of the enemy. He took the field with these troops; and, with the consent of the Indians, erected Fort Western, about seven-and-thirty miles from the mouth of the Kennebec river; and Fort Hallifax, about fifty-four miles down the same river. An account of these transactions being transmitted to the English ministry, together with the present state of that part of the continent, Governor Shirley not only received the thanks of the king his master in council, but was ordered to concert measures with Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence for attacking the French settlements in the bay of Fundy. But the season happened to be too far advanced, when they received these orders, to commence hostilities in that quarter till the ensuing spring: they therefore contented themselves with making all the extraordinary preparations for that service which the delay of it afforded them. They raised two thousand men, whom government supplied with arms. In the mean time, the negotiations which had been renewed in Europe for the amicable termination of these disputes, not taking the turn which the court of London thought herself intitled to expect, she therefore resolved to pursue still more vigorous measures, and issued orders for raising two regiments in America, to be commanded by Sir William Pepperel, and Governor Shirley, whilst Halket's and Dunbar's were ordered from the Irish establishment with General Braddock, who was, on his arrival in America, to take upon him the command of all the British forces in that part of the world. The Virginians, in the mean time, completed the fort, which they called Fort Cumberland; and even

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even formed a camp on Wills Creek, in order to attack the French on the Ohio.

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Major General Braddock arrived with two regiments from Ireland by the latter end of February, 1755; and, as soon after his arrival as he possibly could, summoned the different governors of the English settlements on the continent to meet him at Alexandria in Virginia, in order to deliberate with him on the most proper measures to recover, by force of arms, what had been lost in fruitless remonstrances; and thereby restore the credit of the English amongst the Indians. Various were the plans proposed for this purpose. At length, it was agreed, "That, for the preservation of Oswego, and the reduction of Niagara, Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments should proceed to Lake Ontario; and that one or more armed vessels, of about sixty tons each, should be built on that lake, to command it. Governor Shirley was charged with the execution of this service; Colonel Johnson with that of investing Crown-Point with some provincial troops; and General Braddock was to attack Fort du Quesne.

While these plans were prosecuting with the greatest diligence, that which had been concerted between Governor Shirley, and Governor Lawrence, was carrying into execution; the assembly of the Massachusetts having not only laid a severe embargo to prevent all correspondence with the French at Louisbourg, and, by their means, with those on the Continent, but raised a body of men. About the end of May, Governor Lawrence detached Lieutenant Colonel Monckton with about two thousand men against the French settlements in the Bay of Fundy, whilst Captain Rous, with three frigates and a sloop, was dis-

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patched up the bay to give his assistance by sea. When the colonel arrived at the river Massaguash, he found a number of regulars and neutral Acadians determined to oppose his passage; to which end, they had mounted some cannon in a blockhouse, and thrown up a breast work of timber. In this situation he attacked them, and, in less than an hour, obliged them to retire, leaving the river clear for the passage of our troops, who thereupon marched, without farther interruption, to the ground intended for their encampment. From thence he proceeded to the attack of Fort Beausejour, which, though well fortified, desired to capitulate on the 16th of June after a bombardment of four days only, and without putting the English to the trouble of erecting a single battery against it. Upon this, Colonel Monckton granted the French the following terms:

“ The commander, officers, staff-officers, and others, in the service of the French king, and the rest of the garrison of Beausejour, shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating.

“ The garrison shall be sent directly by sea to Louisbourg, at the expence of the king of Great Britain.

“ The garrison shall be provided with sufficient provisions for their passage to Louisbourg.

“ With regard to the Acadians, as they have been forced to take up arms on pain of death, they shall be pardoned the part they have taken on this occasion.

“ Lastly, the garrison shall not bear arms in America for the space of six months.

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"The terms abovementioned are granted upon condition, that the fort shall be delivered up to the troops of the king of Great Britain at seven o'clock in the afternoon."

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Colonel Monckton, on taking possession of this fort, called it Fort Cumberland, and, leaving a garrison in it, proceeded next day to reduce another small fort on the river Gaspereau. Here the French had their principal magazine for supplying the inhabitants and Indians, and he accordingly found a great quantity of provisions and military stores of every kind: he then disarmed the inhabitants to the amount of about fifteen thousand. In the mean time, the French abandoned their fort on St. John's river, which Captain Rous with his ships destroyed, together with all the other works which the French had raised on that river. By this expedition, which was attended with very little loss, the English secured to themselves the peaceable enjoyment of that fine and extensive country known by the name of Nova Scotia.

This first success of the English military operations, was considered as a happy prelude to those which were expected to follow, notwithstanding the many difficulties General Braddock had to encounter, through the want of necessaries for the subsistence of his army, which, in despite of every obstacle, he conducted to Fort Cumberland on the Potawmack river: and here he was obliged to halt till he should receive a fresh supply of provisions, waggons, and horses, that had been promised him. Whilst he was anxiously expecting the arrival of this assistance, he received various accounts of the enemy. At length, succours came, but far short of what he depended upon; instead of one hundred and fifty waggons he received only fifteen, and in lieu of three hundred horses

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no more than one hundred. This already very severe disappointment was greatly increased when, upon unloading the waggons, the provisions were found to be in so bad a state, that nothing but the keenest hunger could induce any one to eat of them. However, means were found to procure a new and sound supply by the 10th of June, when General Braddock, having nothing now to retard his march, once more set forward for Fort du Quesne, the reduction of which formed the principal object of his expedition. On reaching the little meadows, he received such intelligence as convinced him he could not arrive too early at the place of his destination, in order to prevent the French from throwing any reinforcements into it. Therefore, leaving behind him Colonel Dunbar with eight hundred men, and the greatest part of the waggons and stores, with orders to follow him as fast as the nature of the service would permit, and thereby judiciously lessening his line of march, he proceeded himself at the head of twelve hundred men with ten pieces of cannon. On the 8th of July he found himself within ten miles of Fort du Quesne, whilst marching on with his flanks properly secured, his advanced guard, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Gage, unexpectedly received a few straggling-shot, without being able to discover from what kind of an enemy they came. Troops, unused to this kind of service, are, if their officers be not extremely careful and attentive, in perpetual danger of being seized with a panic on the first alarm, and of course thrown into disorder. Such was now the case. On the first fire the advanced-guard, after discharging a few rounds from their cannon, fell back on the main body, and general confusion ensued. The Indians, animated by this hasty retreat of the English, and seasonable reinforcements of the French, redoubled from one moment to another their galling fire on
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the enemy, who all this while could see nothing but trees and bushes to direct their vengeance against; in vain therefore did General Braddock employ all his authority to restore order. The attempt cost him his life, and most of his officers were either killed or wounded: a musket shot through his right arm and lungs gave him a mortal wound, of which he died the fourth day after. What now remained of the regulars thought it high time to consult their safety by flight. But this flight was so well favoured by the cool bravery of the Virginian provincials, that most of those who must otherwise have fallen immediate victims by general confusion, lived to reach Colonel Dunbar's party. They carried their fears along with them; and these fears proved of so infectious a nature, that the Colonel's party immediately caught them; the consequence of which was, that neither the one nor the other stopped to look behind, till they found themselves sheltered by the walls of Fort Cumberland. Besides the general, the English lost in this affair twenty officers, amongst whom was Sir Peter Halket; twenty-seven were wounded; about two hundred rank and file were killed, and about four hundred wounded. General Braddock's cabinet, and, what scarce need be mentioned, all his artillery and stores, fell into the hands of the victors. After this signal victory, M. Contrecoeur, the commanding officer of the French, returned to Fort du Quesne, and proceeded to render that post so respectable as to make the English justly consider, as an object of the first consequence, the gaining possession of it, and driving the French from that part of the Continent which it commanded.

Few generals perhaps have been so severely censured for any defeat, as General Braddock for this. But if we suffer ourselves coolly and impartially to consider what were in all probability

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bability the motives that influenced him on this occasion, we may discover in them sufficient reason to acquit him of the ill-conduct with which he is charged. To lighten the turf of those who, with all their faults, it must be allowed, fell bravely, is a task so incumbent on humanity, that, independent of my duty, as an historian, to investigate and record the truth, I may presume on leave to oppose a few remarks to that torrent of blame with which General Braddock has been so universally loaded.

It must be allowed, that the certain intelligence he had received of the garrison of Fort du Quesne expecting a speedy reinforcement, was a sufficient motive for his dividing his forces, and leaving his heavy baggage behind him; as without doing so it must have been impossible for him to have reached the fort time enough to have prevented the enemy from entering it. And it must be considered, that General Braddock's opinion of his own military skill could not have been so excessive as to make him wholly neglect the instructions of a so much older and more experienced general as the late Duke of Cumberland: and that he must have totally neglected such instructions, to be justly censured for the defeat he sustained, will appear from the following directions, which were given to him by his Royal Highness:

Instructions to Major General Braddock.

“ S I R,

“ His Royal Highness the Duke, in the several audiences which he has given you, entered into a particular explanation of every part of the service you are about to be employed in; and, as a better rule for the execution of his Majesty's instructions, he, last
Saturday,

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Saturday, communicated to you his own sentiments of this affair; and since you expressed a desire not to forget any part thereof, he has ordered me to deliver them to you in writing. His Royal Highness has this service very much at heart; and it is of the highest importance to his Majesty's American dominions, and to the honour of his troops employed in those parts. His Royal Highness takes likewise a particular interest in it, as it concerns you, whom he recommended to his Majesty to be nominated to the chief command.

“ His Royal Highness's opinion is, that, immediately after your landing, you consider what artillery and other implements of war it will be necessary to transport to Wilkes's Creek, for your first operation on the Ohio, that the service may not be interrupted by any failure of them; and that you form a second field-train, with good officers and soldiers, to be sent to Albany, and be ready to march for the second operation at Niagara. You are to take under your command as many as you think necessary of the two companies of artillery that are in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, as soon as the season will allow, taking care to leave enough to defend the last of these places.

“ When Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments are near complete, his Royal Highness thinks you should cause them to encamp; not only that they may be the more speedily disciplined, but also to draw the attention of the French, and keep them in suspense about the place you really design to attack.

“ The most strict discipline, at all times extremely requisite, is more particularly so in the service you are engaged in. Wherefore, his Royal Highness recommends to you, that it be constantly observed among the troops under your command,

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and that you be particularly careful to guard against their being thrown into a panic by the savages, whom the French will certainly employ against them. His Royal Highness recommends to you the visiting of your posts night and day; that your colonels and other officers be careful to do it; and that you yourself frequently set them the example, and give all your troops plainly to understand, that no excuse will be admitted for any surprize whatsoever.

“ Should the Ohio expedition continue any considerable time, and Pepperell's and Shirley's regiments be found enough to undertake, in the mean while, the reduction of Niagara, his Royal Highness would have you consider, whether you could be there in person, leaving the command of the troops on the Ohio to some officer on whom you might depend, unless you shall think it better for the service to send to those troops some person whom you had designed to command on the Ohio. But this is a nice affair, and claims your particular attention.

“ If, after the Ohio expedition is ended, it should be necessary for you to go with your whole force to Niagara, it is the opinion of his Royal Highness that you should carefully endeavour to find out a shorter way from the Ohio thither than that of the Lake, which, however, you are not to attempt under any pretence whatever, without a moral certainty of being supplied with provisions, &c. As to your design of making yourself master of Niagara, which is of the greatest consequence, his Royal Highness recommends to you to leave nothing to chance in the prosecution of that enterprize.

“ With regard to the reducing of Crown Point, the provincial troops being best acquainted with the country, will be of the most service. After the taking of this fort, his Royal Highness

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Highness advises you to consult with the governors of the neighbouring provinces, where it will be most proper to build a fort to cover the frontiers of those provinces. As to the forts which you think ought to be built, (and of which they are perhaps too fond in that country,) his Royal Highness recommends the building of them in such manner that they may not require a strong garrison. He is of opinion, that you ought not to build considerable forts, cased with stone, till the plans and estimates thereof have been approved by the government here. His Royal Highness thinks, that stockaded forts, with palisades and a good ditch, capable of containing two hundred men, or four hundred upon an emergency, will be sufficient for the present.

“ As Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, who commands at Nova Scotia, hath long projected the taking of Beau-Sejour, his Royal Highness advises you to consult with him, both with regard to the time and the manner of executing that design. In this enterprize, his Royal Highness foresees, that his Majesty's ships may be of great service, as well by transporting the troops and warlike implements, as intercepting the stores and succours that might be sent to the French, either by the Bay Françoise, or from Cape Breton by the Bay Verte.

“ With regard to your winter-quarters, after the operations of the campaign are finished, his Royal Highness recommends it to you to examine, whether the French will not endeavour to make some attempts next season, and in what parts they will most probably make them. In this case, it will be most proper to canton your troops on that side, at such distances, that they may easily be assembled for the com-

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mon defence. But you will be determined in this matter by appearances, and the intelligence, which it hath been recommended to you to procure by every method immediately after your landing. It is unnecessary to put you in mind, how careful you must be *to prevent being surpris'd*. His Royal Highness imagines, that your greatest difficulty will be the subsisting of your troops: he therefore recommends it to you, to give your chief attention to this matter, and to take proper measures relative thereto with the governors, and with your quarter-masters and commissaries. I hope that the extraordinary supply put on board the fleet, and the thousand barrels of beef destined for your use, will facilitate and secure the supplying of the troops with provisions, &c."

It has been asserted, that General Braddock, in direct contradiction to these instructions, led on his men, without so much as securing his flanks, or sending out scouts to reconnoitre the country. But I have authority to affirm, that this assertion is absolutely false. His flanking parties were driven in by the enemy, and no detachments were made from the advanced guard to repel the attack on its flanks.

Had such detachments been made in proper time, they most certainly would have beaten off the enemy. This was by no means the General's fault; for the advanced guard fell into confusion before it was possible that the General could send his orders to put into execution what ought to have been done without any orders from him. Had it not been for this neglect, instead of the confusion, slaughter, and flight we have been relating, we should have had to tell of the triumphant entrance of the English into Fort-du-Quefne, as will appear by the following narrative.

As soon as M. de Contrecoeur, who commanded at that fort, received certain intelligence of General Braddock's strength, he gave over all thoughts of acting offensively; well knowing that a stockaded fort, garrisoned with a handful of men, could make no opposition but what might irritate an enemy. He, therefore, confined himself to the getting of a single piece of cannon mounted, in order to make such a shew of resistance, as might entitle himself and his garrison to the honours of war. In the mean time, he detached M. Dumat, with a few French and Indians, to observe the motions of the English. This party he covered himself, with the greatest part of the garrison of the fort, to which he intended to retire before the English: but the party of M. Dumat discharging some random-shot upon their enemy, without expecting any material advantage from it, till they saw the advanced guard give way; they then put up the war-yell, which being both extremely terrible in itself, and altogether new to the English regulars, caused such an abatement in the fire that was returned by them, as made M. de Contrecoeur conclude, that they were retiring. Upon this he advanced briskly to the assistance of M. Dumat; and soon after joining him, found himself surprised into a victory over troops, to whom, a few hours before, he was making every preparation to become their prisoner of war. And that this was, in the strictest terms, a surprise into victory, is evident from M. de Contrecoeur's not being able to improve the advantage by pursuit, for his numbers were scarcely sufficient to secure the ground on which it was gained, and the stores left behind by the fugitives, especially as his Indians had too much work, in their own horrid way, to attend to any thing else. They immediately fell upon all the poor wretches left on the field of battle, and promiscuously scalped, not only the dead and the dying, but even those who, though unable to fly, might

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have otherwise recovered: at least we have heard but of one exception; and that owing to such an uncommon degree of humanity, as should not be forgot, even in a history peculiarly dedicated to the commemoration of what are deemed very different virtues. Amongst the wounded was Captain Treby, of the 44th regiment. His wounds, indeed, were not mortal; but they were such as effectually prevented his crawling from the field of battle. But, fortunately for him, Mr. Farrel, then a volunteer, now a captain in the 62d regiment, happening to be apprised of his situation, and knowing the terrible consequences of it, caught him up on his back, and conveyed him, at the most imminent peril of his own life, to some distance from the field of battle, and then procured him such farther assistance, that, disabled as he was, he had the good fortune to reach Fort Cumberland with the other fugitives.

But to return to General Braddock: Had he been ever so incautious; had he been guilty of the greatest neglect; had Fortune but favoured him, censure, in all probability, would never have dared to open her pestilential mouth against him. But the ashes of the dead were treated with indignity, to prevent the eye of scrutiny from penetrating into the conduct of the living.

Notwithstanding the inability of the conquerors to pursue the advantage they had gained, the conquered army continued its flight, as I have before related, till it reached Fort Cumberland; and even then, the troops were so little recovered from their panic, that they had not presence of mind enough to stop there, and enlarge the works of the place, as they might very well have done; for they still consisted of sixteen hundred regulars, and two provincial companies. Had this

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this measure been pursued, it might have been such a check upon the French and their scalping Indians, as would have effectually prevented many of those savage cruelties that were committed during the ensuing winter, upon the western borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania. Instead of this, Colonel Dunbar left none in the fort but the sick and wounded, whom it was impossible to remove, with the two companies of provincial troops, by way of garrison. He marched out, or rather evacuated the place, on the 2d of August, with the remainder, for Philadelphia, where his troops could be of no service. They were soon ordered from thence to Albany, in the province of New-York, by Major-General Shirley, on whom the command in chief of the British forces in North America was now devolved, by the death of General Braddock; whose defeat, however detrimental in itself to the English affairs in that part where he commanded, was rendered still worse by its evil influence wherever the news of it reached.

At the conference held at Alexandria in Virginia, it was resolved, that General Shirley should conduct the operations against Niagara, with his own regiment, Sir William Pepperel's, the Jersey Blues, commanded by Colonel Schuyler, and a detachment of the royal artillery, who were all to assemble at Albany; and that some vessels should be built there, not only to secure the place from, but render it a terror to, the French. Accordingly Captain Bradstreet set out for that place, with two companies, some swivels, and the first set of workmen, early enough to reach it by the 27th of May. Three days before his arrival, thirty French boats had passed within sight of it, and two days after eleven more. These boats might contain fifteen or sixteen men each; a force, in the whole, more than sufficient to master the fort in a few hours, with.

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with the aid of a single mortar, as the French themselves well knew, for all its strength consisted of no more than eight four-pounders, and one hundred men, under the command of Captain King. These were followed, on the 29th, by eleven more; but Captain Bradstreet, who now commanded, though spurred on with the most irresistible inclination, dared not to attack them, his boats being too small for that purpose. On the 7th of June, the ship-carpenters arrived from Boston; and on the 28th of the same month, they launched the first English vessel that lake ever carried. She was a schooner, forty feet in keel, mounting twelve swivel guns, and made to row, when necessary, with fourteen oars. This vessel, with three hundred and twenty men, was all the force at Oswego, in the beginning of July 1755. The men were victualled at the expence of the province of New-York; and happy, indeed, it was that colony had taken so much precaution; for so little had been observed in forwarding the government's provisions, that when the forces under General Shirley arrived there, they must have perished for want, if they had not found a supply which they had no reason to expect. These circumstances the French were well acquainted with; but they thought it not so much their interest to make themselves masters of Oswego, as to pursue their projects on the Ohio. Besides, they would have forfeited the friendship of the Indians, as the English had already done, by interrupting the trade carried on at Oswego.

General Shirley now commenced his part of the operations he was to conduct against Niagara.

In the beginning of July, the Jersey Blues began their march. But before Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments could be put in a condition to follow, the melancholy accounts of Mr. Brad-dock's

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dock's defeat arrived. This so dispirited these regiments, that numbers deserted from them; and it had such an effect upon the boat-men in particular, that almost the whole of them dispersed, insomuch as to render it impossible to keep sufficiently supplied with provisions even the few troops that had not suffered themselves to be infected by this almost general panic. General Shirley, however, left Albany before the end of July, with as many of the troops and stores as he could find methods of conveying. He depended on being joined by numbers of Indians of the Five Nations, through whose country he was to pass: but his expectations were too sanguine. Instead of complying with his request, they remonstrated against his committing any hostilities on that side of the country, alledging, "That Oswego was a place established for traffick, as it really was; and that therefore the peace of the country ought not to be disturbed by either the English or the French." A few, however, joined him, and with these he prosecuted his rout to Oswego, which he reached, with part of his troops, the 18th of August: but it was the last day of that month before the rest arrived, when their store of provision was found too short for the whole to proceed against Niagara. He therefore determined to make an attack upon that place with six hundred men, especially as by leaving the remainder at Oswego, there would be the less danger of its being surprised by the French from Fort Frontinac, which happened at that time to be powerful, and the French could easily bring great part of that force over Lake Ontario. But, upon a closer examination of the stores, they were found insufficient even for this small body, till, on the 26th of September, there arrived just enough for that purpose, after twelve days short allowance was reserved for the troops who were

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to remain behind. A council of war was therefore held to consider of the present situation of the army, in which it was resolved, that as the season for action was so far elapsed, the attempt upon Niagara should be deferred till the next year. The little that remained, however, was employed in securing the possession of this important post. The troops began to erect two new forts; the old one, though dignified by that name, being no better than a stone-house, originally built for the convenience of trade, at the particular desire of the Five Nations of Indians. There could be no situation at this place, however advantageous for trade, but what was so much the worse for the purpose of defence: the forts, as they were situated, could not be made tenable but against small arms, being entirely commanded by adjacent eminences.

The fleet, which so much industry had put afloat, now consisted of a decked sloop of eight four-pounders and thirty swivels; a decked schooner, of eight four-pounders and twenty-eight swivels; an undecked schooner, of fourteen swivels and fourteen oars; and another, of twelve swivels and fourteen oars. But these vessels were ordered to be unrigged, and laid up, whilst the French still kept cruising on the lake with theirs; and all the benefit that was expected from a superior fleet, was lost to the English, by disabling it so soon. Oswego was now not only deprived of the protection of the vessels, but, on the 24th of October, after a quantity of provision having arrived, the General withdrew himself from thence with all his forces, except seven hundred men, who were left under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Mercer, to finish and defend the forts; without a possibility, however, of being relieved, should they be attacked during
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the winter-season. And this, there was some reason to apprehend, would be the case. Indeed the French would have endeavoured to gain it in the spring, had not their attention been diverted, by transporting stores to Niagara, for the use of Fort-du-Quefne, which they then considered as an object of the first magnitude.

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The last resolution of the council of Alexandria now claims our attention; namely, the expedition concerted against Crown-Point. Although this expedition had the least appearance of success, especially from the want of experience in the general, and of discipline in his troops, it was that which terminated with most honour to the English arms. The good sense of General Johnson, his conciliating manner of treating the Indians, his humanity and generosity, had procured from the forces under him such confidence as to compensate the want of almost every other advantage, and create the greatest, where there was scarce the least hope of, success.

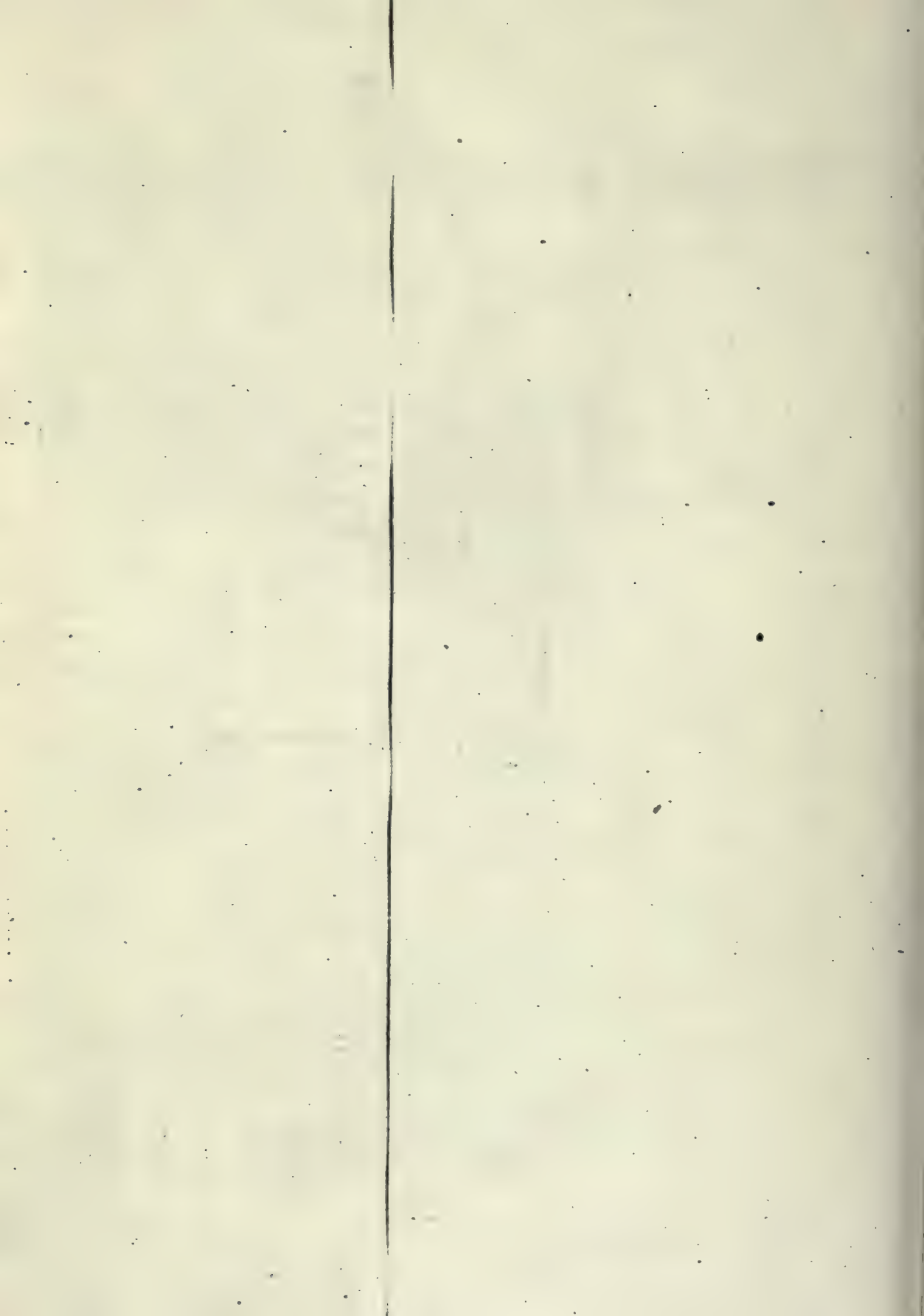
The troops for the service of this campaign were composed of the militia of the northern provinces, commanded by Major-General Lyman, till the arrival of General Johnson. They were assembled at the carrying-place between Hudson's river and Lake George, to the number of about two thousand two hundred. During the interval between their arrival and that of General Johnson, they were employed in throwing up some works to secure the landing-place: these works will hereafter be called *Fort Edward*. General Johnson, on his part, was employed at Albany in collecting and forwarding to Fort Edward such stores as the service demanded; and on the 5th of August, he set out from thence with several boat-loads of artillery, ammunition, and provisions, and joined General

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Lyman time enough to be able to put his little army in motion by the latter end of the same month, leaving Colonel Blanchard, with about three hundred provincials, as a garrison in Fort Edward. The artillery and ammunition happening to meet with some delay, the General thought proper to encamp at Lake George till their arrival, when he resolved to proceed against Ticonderoga. The situation he chose was advantageous, on an eminence, flanked by bushy swamps; Lake George was in his rear; whilst the ordinary guards sufficiently secured his front. From the ascendancy he had gained over the Indians who composed part of his army, and which he improved to the greatest advantage, as they were thoroughly acquainted with every path, he constantly employed a number of them as scouts, to prevent all possibility of surprize. Accordingly, in consequence of this prudent measure, he, on the 7th of September, received intelligence, that a body of the French were on their march from Ticonderoga, with an intention to attack Fort Edward. Upon this he immediately sent off an officer express to Colonel Blanchard, with orders to withdraw his out-posts, and keep his whole force within his works: but this officer happening to fall in with some of the advanced parties of the French, had the misfortune to be killed. About midnight, an Indian whom the General had sent to look out for, and to observe his enemy, returned with advice, that he had discovered them, but without being able to tell their numbers, which happened to be too great for the arithmetic of an Indian, who has no means to express the difference betwixt five hundred and as many thousands; so that the General still continued at a loss for what it most imported him to know. He therefore immediately called a council of war, which unanimously approved of his sending



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a detachment early the next morning, of one thousand provincials, under the command of Colonel Williams, and two hundred Indians under the direction of old Hendrick, the Mohock Sachem, with orders to attempt cutting off the retreat of the French in their return from Fort Edward, whether they succeeded or miscarried in their designs against it. This was on the 8th of September. About nine in the morning, Colonel Williams marched his detachment from the camp; about two hours after, a smart firing was heard by those in the camp, which grew louder from one moment to another, so as to afford the General sufficient reason to apprehend, that Colonel Williams was attacked by the enemy, and defeated. He, therefore, immediately ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Cole, with a detachment of three hundred men, to check the supposed pursuit of the enemy, and to cover the retreat of his friends. This well-timed order rescued many of them from destruction. He likewise ordered the stumps of some trees that had been burned down, to be piled up in his front; and most of his men being expert at the axe, such whole trees as stood convenient for the purpose were soon felled, and added to the stumps, so as to form with them a breast-work, with as much regularity as the confusion of the time would admit. Such as it was, it was scarcely finished, when the remains of Colonel Williams's party soon arrived at the camp: that the French had beat them, was the only certain account which they could give; as to the numbers of the enemy in particular, they represented it so differently, as to increase the confusion rather than lessen it. But soon the French themselves made their appearance in front, moving up to the English in one large column, and in good order, with their bayonets fixed, and a steady countenance; till discovering some cannon, they

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halted for a moment, not without shewing signs that their ardour was a little abated by a fight so unexpected. However, the cannon of the English did not appear more disagreeable to them, than that of their bayonets to the English, who, from some strange neglect, were not provided with any. When the French had recovered themselves a little, they set forward again; and about noon, at the distance of one hundred yards from the breast-work, began a regular platoon-firing: but by this time, the English troops, having equally recovered themselves, plied their musketry and cannon so well, and thereby gave the French such a shock, that their Canadians and Indians abandoned the front-attack, and crept behind the trees, upon the flanks of the English; and from thence continued firing, but with very little execution, as by this time the flanks had received an additional security of a breast-work. The French, finding themselves thus deserted, thought proper to alter their platoon-firing to the Indian method, and take shelter behind the trees. In this manner they advanced their front-attack to within fifty yards of the breast-work, where they continued firing near two hours; till discovering that they could not make the least impression on the front, they again altered their plan, and made an effort, first on the right wing, and then on the left: but these attacks proving equally unsuccessful with that upon the front, and numbers of men having fallen on every side, the remainder abandoned their hopes, and retired about four o'clock in the afternoon. The chief loss that the English sustained in this affair, consisted of those who had fallen in the retreat, or rather flight, of Colonel Williams's detachment. The breast-work effectually preserved all those who were covered by it; and the cannon prevented,

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prevented, in all human probability, the defeat of the English; for the French were superior to them in numbers, who, from sixteen hundred effective men, were reduced to thirteen hundred by the defeat of Colonel Williams; whereas the French consisted of two hundred grenadiers, eight hundred Canadians, and seven hundred Indians of different nations. After the disaster that attended the party of Colonel Williams, not a single Indian would shew himself in favour of General Johnson; much less could any of them be prevailed upon to exert themselves offensively. In this affair the English had about one hundred and thirty killed, amongst whom were Colonel Williams, Colonel Titcumb, Major Astley, six captains, and old Hendrick, the Mohock chief; several were wounded, and the General received a ball in his thigh. The French had about two hundred and sixty killed, amongst whom was M. de St. Pierre, who commanded the Indians; about thirty were taken prisoners, together with the Baron Dieskeau, who commanded the whole of the French troops. The English commander, satisfied with his victory, abstained from all pursuit. This omission had nearly proved fatal to a party of about one hundred and twenty men, commanded by Captain Macginnis, who had been detached from Fort Edward to reinforce General Johnson's camp. About three hundred of Baron Dieskeau's troops having rallied, and being in one body, met Captain Macginnis near the place where Colonel Williams had been defeated the preceding day. But as Captain Macginnis observed the greatest precaution in his march, and was informed by one of his scouts of the enemy's approach, he immediately made a disposition to receive them, and not only repulsed their first attack, but so vigorously charged them in his turn, that he soon put them to flight, and entirely dispersed

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perfed them, with the lofs of only two men killed, eleven wounded, and five miffing. Captain Macginnis was wounded; of which wounds he died in a few days after his arrival in General Johnson's camp.

If we muft allow, that General Johnson committed fome overlooks in the courfe of this campaign, we may fafely affirm, that the Baron Dieskeau committed much greater. When General Johnson received intelligence of the enemy's march, he did not take his refolutions, nor make his difpofitions, with that celerity which circumftances feemed to demand. Delays, always dangerous, are feldom otherwife than fatal in the bufinefs of war. Unlefs opportunity be feized at the very infant it prefents itfelf, it is gone, never to return. In the interval, between General Johnson's receiving certain intelligence of the approach of the French, and his making the detachment to attack them, there was undoubtedly time enough given to Baron Dieskeau, if his design had been againft Fort Edward, to ftrike his blow againft it; and whether he fucceeded or not, to have retreated beyond the reach of Colonel Williams. Not profecuting his victory by a brisk purfuit, was ftill more blameable: by it he muft have deftroyed, or taken prifoners, a great number of the fugitive French; and Captain Macginnis's party would have been freed from the danger which they fo narrowly efcaped, the next day.

As to Baron Dieskeau, when he left Ticonderoga, his intentions were to cut off the garrifon at Fort Edward; but when he approached within three or four miles of that place, his troops, prepofted with the notion of its being well fortified with cannon, remonftrated againft the execution of his designs. They, however, from the fame principle of averfenefs

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ness to contend with cannon, declared themselves willing to attempt the surprising of General Johnson's camp, which they supposed to be destitute of artillery. This consideration alone would have been sufficient to make Baron Dieskau employ them in this service, since, by its being their own choice, their honour would be most engaged to execute it properly. But he had still another motive: he had learned by an English prisoner, that a few days before, when he had left the English army, it was unprovided with cannon; and in fact, no cannon had at that time reached them: so that every thing conspired to insure him success. The defeat of Colonel Williams flushed his troops with new hopes, and gave them additional spirits. Had he therefore pushed on, without halting the short time that he did, and rushed forward with fixed bayonets, during the confusion in which he might easily guess the defeat of Colonel Williams's party had thrown the English camp, he must have redoubled that confusion, and of course succeeded in his attempt. His halting, however short it was, gave the English time to recollect themselves, and increase their defence to such a degree, as to destroy every advantage that could arise from his men being armed with bayonets; from his superiority of numbers, and the spirits which his troops had acquired by the defeat of Colonel Williams: or had the Baron retreated in good order, as he might easily have done, on account of his superiority in numbers and arms, as soon as he found the English were provided with cannon, and defended by a breast-work, and that they had sufficiently recovered their spirits to avail themselves of both, he might still have carried his point against Fort Edward.

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The most useful weapon in sudden assaults, either for attack or defence, is the screwed bayonet. There was not a single bayonet in General Johnson's army; whereas every man amongst the French was provided with one; and it was impossible for the English to march as fast with their cannon as the French with small arms only; so that the defence of the former must be confined solely to the firelock, a machine of very little utility when the fixed bayonet can be properly used.

Few battles, it may be safely averred, have been fought, but that, in the course of the action, there generally presented themselves certain advantages, which, if seized at the critical moment, would have rendered it much more decisive.

We are not, therefore, to be surpris'd at General Johnson's committing some errors; for, so far from pretending to the knowledge of military business, he always professed an ignorance in that science; but an ardent desire of serving his country was his chief motive for accepting the command: the confidence of his troops, and the opinion that he entertained of their courage, gave him the most confident hope of success. It was, perhaps, owing to this his modest opinion of himself, that he had the singular satisfaction of returning victorious with his provincials, when the army, composed chiefly of regulars, sent against Fort-du-Quefne, met a total defeat; and that designed against Niagara, consisting of regulars also, was obliged to abandon the enterprize. Yet it is a debt we owe to candour to confess, that if these troops had been properly led on, it is most probable they would have met with equal success.

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The account of General Johnson's successes no sooner reached England than the king, as an acknowledgment for his services, created him a baronet; and the parliament, to reward them, presented him with five thousand pounds. Nor were these services overpaid. The English troops were so afraid of their enemy that they always expected defeat; this advantage gained by General Johnson restored them a little to a confidence in themselves, and taught them to regard the enemy with a less degree of apprehension than they had done for some time past; yet they did not immediately acquire that martial turn of mind by which they afterwards became so distinguished. This alteration alone would have sufficiently compensated for a much greater loss than that which General Johnson sustained in the action with the Baron Dieskeau, had there been no other advantages gained by it; which was very far from being the case. The success of General Johnson gave security to the northern provinces, by disabling the French troops, and obliging them to retire: On the contrary, had he been defeated, the French might have penetrated even to Albany without opposition, and have destroyed the whole country. General Shirley might also have been attacked in a situation, when neither courage or conduct could have been sufficient to save him.

General Johnson, after this affair, turned his thoughts to the securing of the country from the incursions of the enemy when he should retire into winter quarters; and the erecting of a fort at his encampment appearing the best measure that he could take for that purpose, he immediately gave orders for the constructing of one, which he called Fort William Henry. Captain Robert Rogers, of the new Hampshire regiment, a

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person well acquainted with the woods of North America, and with the Indians in the interest of the English, having by this time joined General Johnson, he was ordered on different scouts to discover the number of the enemy, and how they were employed. On the 24th of September he was sent to Crown Point, where he found the French were in number about five hundred, and were erecting a battery at the side of the fort. On the 7th of October he was ordered to Ticonderoga, where he discovered about two thousand French, who had thrown up an intrenchment, and prepared a large quantity of hewn timber in the adjacent woods; he was even a witness to their laying the foundations of a fort on the point which commands the pass between Lake George and Lake Champlain.

These discoveries were sufficient to convince General Johnson of the impracticability of attacking the enemy at Ticonderoga with any prospect of success. From their great superiority of numbers he had reason to expect they would again attack him, strengthened with cannon; he therefore resolved to act on the defensive, and direct his whole strength towards finishing Fort William Henry. Continuing this work as long as the season would permit, he was then obliged to enter into winter-quarters, leaving a regiment of provincials and Captain Rogers's company to garrison that place and Fort Edward; and on the 24th of December retired to Albany, and from thence dispersed the remainder of his army to their respective provinces. Thus then, though the plan of military operations agreed upon in the council of war held at Alexandria, was attempted in its utmost latitude, the aspect of the English affairs on the continent was very little, if at all, improved by it. The defeat of General Braddock, and the withdrawing

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withdrawing of the troops from Philadelphia, the most central of the English colonies, by General Shirley, gave the French an opportunity, in spite of General Johnson's success, to improve their situation on the Ohio, especially by enlarging and strengthening the forts they had already erected to secure their claim to that part of the country; and make from thence such excursions into the English back-settlements as obliged the wretched inhabitants to abandon them, and to retire for safety into the more inhabited parts. The tedious delays in preparing military stores for the siege of Niagara, and the scandalous neglect in forming proper magazines of provisions for the same purposes, begot an uncommon spirit of enterprise in the French, and encouraged their Indians to assist them in carrying destruction into the back-settlements of the English.

To put a stop to these depredations the government of Virginia ordered, that the militia of the counties of Dumfries, Prince William, and Fairfax, should be draughted, and one hundred and sixty of them should march towards the south branch of the Potomack, which had been lately the scene of several cruel murders. About the middle of October, five hundred more were ordered to rendezvous at Fort Cumberland, to prevent further outrages from the French in that quarter.

But all these measures proved only local and temporary remedies. As fast as the French, and particularly their Indians, were curbed or chastised in one place, they broke out, and committed fresh outrages in another, especially on the side of Philadelphia. On the 3d of November, the governor of that

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province informed the assembly, by message, That a most formidable body, composed of fourteen hundred Indians, and one hundred French, were on their march from the Ohio, with an intention to divide, as soon as they should come within a certain distance of the frontiers, into separate parties; some against Shamekin, others against Jurnata, and a third party against Harris's ferry; and, in that manner, spread themselves in small companies quite over the province of Pennsylvania, so as to be able to take up their winter-quarters quietly at Lancaster; that they were now encamped on the Sasquechanah, within so little distance as eighty miles of Philadelphia; That they had ingratiated themselves to such a degree with the Delawares and the Shawanese as to make them take up the hatchet against the English, and declare they would not lay it down whilst there was any English alive to use it against. The governor added, That he could have put the province into a posture of defence, and prevented all the mischief which had been already done by this party, had his hands been properly strengthened; but that he had neither money, nor arms, nor ammunition, at his disposal; that there was no militia; and that he could not form the back-settlers into such regular bodies as the present exigencies required. He, therefore, earnestly recommended it to them to grant the proper supplies of money for these important purposes, and prepare a bill for establishing a militia, with a clause in favour of those who, from truly conscientious motives, scrupled the bearing of arms; as it was impossible, without such a law, to prevent confusion and disorder, and answer the purposes of government, however considerable the mere pecuniary supplies granted for that purpose might be.

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To this message the assembly avoided giving any explicit answer. The leading men amongst them, being Quakers, did all that lay in their power to obstruct every proposal for complying with the most material part of the governor's message, that of raising men as well as money. Some of them went so far as to vindicate the enemy, and advise forbearance, as the best measure they could take to secure both their liberty and property. To confirm this spirit of delusion that had seized upon the majority of the representatives, many speakers or preachers, both men and women, ran about, with more than common assiduity, protesting against all warlike preparations, and declaring, that whatever evils might come upon the English provinces, it was of their own seeking; that the French were settled on their own lands; and that the defeat of the English troops was a judgment for disturbing the French in their peaceable habitations; that their colony was under the immediate protection of Heaven; and that therefore it was as unnecessary to take any steps to keep the French out of Pennsylvania, as it had been wicked to attempt the driving them out of their own possessions. The governor, therefore, was obliged to send them another message to the same purport, with the alarming news that the settlement at the Great Cove was utterly destroyed, and all the settlers killed or taken prisoners. But they still held out. On the 10th, therefore, of the same month, the governor further informed them, in the most pathetic manner, That the Indians who still continued true to the English had publicly required the assistance of the province, declaring, that, unless it was immediately granted, they must, in their own defence, take part with the French, as they were not themselves able to make head against them. The governor spiritedly added, That he was

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fully resolved, with the advice of his council, to set out in person for the back-settlements, in order to assist the wretched inhabitants who were still left alive, with his presence, and put them in the best order he could to defend themselves, as he had no hopes left of being able to do any thing for their interest in concert with the assembly, though bound by many more ties than himself to consult it.

One would imagine that this message left no room for any other; notwithstanding which, much fruitless altercation passed between the governor and assembly, even about pecuniary supplies. In a message which the governor sent the assembly on the 18th, he acquainted them that the Indians had driven away the inhabitants of Tulpekothen, and then destroyed the settlement itself; and observed, that the ways and means of supply they had under consideration were of too dilatory a nature, as no money could be raised in consequence of them in less than six weeks, by which time great part of the province might be laid waste. He, therefore, again urged them for an immediate supply, and an immediate law to render that supply effectual, by establishing and regulating a militia, and subjecting it to military discipline. These applications were considerably reinforced by the unexpected arrival at Philadelphia, the very next day, of many hundreds of the back-settlers. These wretched fugitives demanded, in a body, that relief they were entitled to by the laws of God and Nature, from the protection of government. They first applied to the governor, who gave them an account of his messages to the assembly in their behalf; and shewed them an order from the proprietaries for a considerable sum to be laid out as a free gift in the defence of the province.

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Upon this, they hurried to the stadt-house with a waggon loaded with the dead bodies of their friends, who had been scalped only about sixty miles off by the Indians; and set them down at the door of the assembly-house, cursing the Quakers and their principles, and bidding the committee of assembly behold the fruits of their obstinacy, and confess, that their pretended sanctity could not save the province without the assistance of the arm of flesh. To these arguments they added threats to come down again on the same errand; adding, That in case they found no effectual steps taken for their protection, the consequences should be fatal. These declarations were made with such marks of grief and despair in their faces, for the loss of their wives and children, and the labours of their whole lives, that the assembly, either moved by the distress, or over-awed by the menaces, of the injured people, immediately dropt all their disputes, passed a money-bill for sixty thousand pounds, and likewise a militia-bill, too new and curious in its kind to be here omitted. It is as follows :

An Act for the better ordering and regulating such as are willing and desirous to be united for military purposes within the Province of Pennsylvania, passed November 25th 1755.

“*WHEREAS* this province was first settled by (and a majority of the assemblies have ever since been of) the people called *Quakers*; who, though they do not, as the world is now circumflanced, condemn the use of arms in others, yet are principled against bearing arms themselves; and to make any law to compel them thereto, against their consciences, would not be only to violate a fundamental principle in our constitution, and be a direct breach of our charter of privileges, but would
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also in effect be to commence persecution against all that part of the inhabitants of the province; and for them, by any law, to compel others to bear arms, and exempt themselves, would be inconsistent and partial: Yet forasmuch as, by the general toleration and equity of our laws, great numbers of people of other religious denominations are come among us, who are under no such restraint, some of whom have been disciplined in the art of war, and conscientiously think it their duty to fight in defence of their country, their wives, their families, and estates; and such have an equal right to liberty of conscience with others.

“ *And whereas* a great number of petitions from the several counties of this province have been presented to the house, setting forth, That the petitioners are very willing to defend themselves and their country, and desirous of being formed into regular bodies for that purpose, instructed and disciplined under proper officers, with suitable and legal authority; representing withal, That unless measures of this kind are taken, so as to unite them together, subject them to due command, and thereby give them confidence in each other, they cannot assemble to oppose the enemy, without the utmost danger of exposing themselves to confusion and destruction.

“ *And whereas* the voluntary assembling of great bodies of armed men from different parts of the province on any occasional alarm, whether true or false, as of late hath happened, without call or authority from the government, and without due order and direction among themselves, may be attended with danger to our neighbouring Indian friends and allies, as well as to the internal peace of the province.

“ *And*

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“ And whereas the governor hath frequently recommended it to the assembly, that in preparing and passing a law for such purposes, they should have due regard to scrupulous and tender consciences, which cannot be done where compulsive means are used to force men into military service; therefore, as we represent all the people of the province, and are composed of members of different religious persuasions, we do not think it reasonable that any should, through a want of legal powers, be in the least restrained from doing what they judge it their duty to do for their own security and the public good; we, in compliance with the said petitions and recommendations, do offer it to the governor to be enacted, *and be it enacted* by the Honourable Robert Hunter Morris, Esq; with the King’s royal approbation, lieutenant-governor, under the Honourable Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, Esquires, true and absolute proprietors of the province of Pennsylvania, and of the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex upon Delaware, by and with the advice and consent of the representatives of the freemen of the said province, in general assembly met, and by the authority of the same, That from and after publication of this act, it shall and may be lawful for freemen of this province to form themselves into companies, as heretofore they have used in time of war without law; and for each company, by majority of votes in the way of ballot, to chuse its own officers, to wit, a captain, lieutenant, and ensign, and present them to the governor or commander in chief for the time being, for his approbation; which officers, so chosen, if approved and commissioned by him, shall be the captain, lieutenant, and ensign of each company respectively, according to their commissions; and the said companies being

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divided into regiments by the governor or commander in chief, it shall and may be lawful for the officers so chosen and commissioned for the several companies of each regiment, to meet together, and by majority of votes, in the way of ballot, to chuse a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major, for the regiment, and present them to the governor, or commander in chief, for his approbation; which officers so chosen, if approved and commissioned by him, shall be the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major of the regiment, according to their commissions, during the continuance of this act.

“ *Provided always*, That if the governor or commander in chief shall not think fit to grant his commission to any officer, so first chosen and presented, it shall and may be lawful for the electors of such officer to chuse two other persons in his stead, and present them to the governor or commander in chief; one of whom, at his pleasure, shall receive his commission, and be the officer as aforesaid.

“ *And be it further enacted* by the authority aforesaid, That as soon as the said companies and regiments are formed, and their officers commissioned as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful to and for the governor, or commander in chief, by and with the advice and consent of the colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors of all the regiments, being for that purpose by him called and convened, or by and with the advice and consent of a majority of the said officers that shall be met and present together on such call, to form, make, and establish articles of war, for the better government of the forces that shall be under their command, and for bringing offend-

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ers against the same to justice; and to erect and constitute courts-martial, with powers to hear, try, or determine any crimes or offences by such articles of war, and inflict penalties, by sentence or judgment of the same, on those who shall be subject thereto, in any place within this province. Which articles of war, when made as aforesaid, shall be printed and distributed to the captains of the several companies, and by them distinctly read to their respective companies; and all and every captain, lieutenant, ensign, or other freeman, who shall, after at least three days consideration of the said articles, voluntarily sign the same, in presence of some one justice of the peace, acknowledging his having perused or heard the same distinctly read, and that he has well considered thereof, and is willing to be bound and governed thereby, and promises obedience thereto, and to his officers accordingly, shall henceforth be deemed well and duly bound to the observance of the said articles, and to the duties thereby required, and subject to the pains, penalties, punishments, and forfeitures that may therein be appointed on disobedience and other offences.

“ Provided always, That the articles so to be made and established, shall contain nothing repugnant, but be as near as possible conformable to the military laws of Great Britain, and to the articles of war made and established by his Majesty, in pursuance of the last act of parliament for punishing mutiny and desertion; the different circumstances of this province compared with Great Britain, and of a voluntary militia of freemen compared with mercenary standing troops, being duly weighed and maturely considered.

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“ Provided also, That nothing in this act shall be understood or construed to give any power or authority to the governor or commander in chief, and the said officers, to make any articles or rules that shall in the least affect those of the inhabitants of the province who are conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms, either in their liberties, persons, or estates; nor any other persons, of what persuasion or denomination soever, who have not first voluntarily and freely signed the said articles, after due consideration as aforesaid.

“ Provided also, That no youth under the age of twenty-one years, nor any bought servant or indentured apprentice shall be admitted to enrol himself, or be capable of being enrolled in the said companies or regiments, without the consent of his or their parents or guardians, masters or mistresses, in writing under their hands first had and obtained.

“ Provided also, That no enlistment or enrolment of any person, in any of the companies or regiments to be formed or raised as aforesaid, shall protect such person in any suit or civil action brought against him by his creditors or others, except during his being in actual service in field or garrison; nor from a prosecution for any offence committed against the laws of this province.

“ Provided also, That no regiment, company, or party of volunteers, shall, by virtue of this act, be compelled or led more than three days march beyond the inhabited parts of the province; nor detained longer than three weeks in any garrison, without an express engagement for that purpose, first voluntarily entered into and subscribed by every man, so to march or remain in garrison.

This

" This act to continue in force until the 30th day of October next, and no longer."

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After all, we must remark, in justice to the Quakers, that the rest of the English colonists, who held no religious tenets which could obstruct their councils, or tie up their hands, were very far from being properly united, or even so much as agreed, regarding the grand point of raising the necessary supplies of men and money for their common safety. Those indeed, who were nearest the seat of danger presented several spirited remonstrances to their rulers, and instructions to their representatives, setting forth, " That when they saw the views of an ambitious and potent prince extended, in open violation of the most solemn treaties with the native Indians and the crown of Great Britain, and his subjects seizing lands undoubtedly within the limits of the English territories, fortifying themselves thereon, assisted by all the native forces of Canada, a large number of veteran soldiers from France; and thereby opening a short and easy passage to the back-settlements of the English: That when they reflected on these intruders, who were the avowed enemies of the property and trade, the liberty, laws, and religion of the English, the utter extirpation of which could only satisfy them: That when they considered this, it plainly appeared to be the grand leading view in all their ambitious designs, and the only way, in their opinion, to establish an arbitrary and tyrannical empire, and with it a bloody and persecuting religion, throughout the whole continent of North America: That when they observed them, in pursuance of this plan, to act in one uniform manner, guided by one steady council, and directed to one fixed and unalterable point; their strength consisting in union, and their prospect

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of employing that strength successfully, founded on the present unhappy disjointed state of the English colonies; a circumstance so evident even to the Indians in alliance with the English, that self-preservation had induced many of their warriors to go over to the French, believing, that either the affairs of the English were desperate, or that the English themselves were an easy, effeminate, and dastardly people, and consequently not to be relied on, either for prudence to provide against, or courage to oppose, the impending dangers.

“ That when they seriously considered and observed all these things, they could not forbear being alarmed at a situation so shocking to every true subject of Great Britain: adding, That it was with the utmost concern they had seen those evils, from small beginnings, grow, though by slow degrees, to a most alarming height; and that they could not help attributing this their monstrous growth to the private views and disunion, the irresolution and inaction, of the several legislatures of British America; so that an invasion, which, considering the natural strength of the English colonies, if properly united, might have been heretofore repelled at an easy expence, was now become a matter of the most serious concern to themselves, as well as of the greatest importance to the mother-country, by requiring a provincial assistance in men and money, far beyond what, in case of an early junction and spirited measures, would have been amply sufficient.”

These remonstrances and instructions had, in a great measure, the desired effect, by disposing the minds to whom they were directed to listen to the advice, and obey the injunctions of the court of London to the same salutary purpose. General Shirley,

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Shirley, who arrived at Albany on the 4th of November, on the 2d of the following month, wrote circular letters to the several English governors upon the continent, to meet him at that place, in order to hold a council of war; which, by order of his master, the King of Great Britain, was to consist of as many English governors and field-officers as could possibly attend at it. As soon as this council met, Mr. Shirley laid before them the instructions that had been given his predecessor General Braddock; and then exerted the utmost of his abilities to establish a good harmony amongst the English colonies; and was particularly happy in effecting an union between the governments of New-England and New-York, towards the common cause of defence against the incroachments of the French: and, what was of still greater consequence, he conciliated to the British interest many of the Indians who had already gone over to the French, or had given just reason to suspect their intending it.

The first fruits of this success were, that the measures he proposed, in consequence of General Braddock's instructions, were cheerfully agreed to. These were, To secure, at all events, the navigation of Lake Ontario; and employ six thousand troops against the French forts on that lake, and ten thousand against Crown-Point. It was likewise proposed to renew the expedition against Fort-du-Québec, and attack the French on the river Chaudiere: but these operations were approved merely on condition they did not interfere with the principal expeditions already agreed to. The council then unanimously declared it to be their opinion, That it would be impossible to recover and secure his Britannic Majesty's just rights, without an additional number of regular forces; and,

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as the French were building vessels at Frontenac, they also ordered a snow, a brigantine, and a sloop to be built at Fort Oswego.

The executing of these measures required no small degree of military skill; and, whatever merit General Shirley might be possessed of as a negotiator, he had not, in the course of his command, discovered any great abilities as a soldier. The court of London, therefore, thought proper to supersede him in his command, and ordered him to England, before he could have an opportunity of carrying any of his winter-councils into execution.

Notwithstanding the defeat of M. Dieskeau, there still remained a great number of the French regulars, which the Baron and M. de Vaudreuil had brought over with them, to the amount of three thousand men and upwards. These troops, with the Canadians, who were as well, if not better, qualified for service in that country, than the French regulars, joined to the numerous tribes of Indians in the French interest, being conducted by one chief, formed an infinitely more formidable power than the regular and provincial troops of the English, who could not unite their strength on account of the jarring interests of the different provinces.

The posts of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point were effectually secured by the French, who likewise continued to use the greatest diligence in constructing vessels at Fort Frontenac; they also strongly garrisoned Niagara, and stationed a sufficient number of troops on the communication between that place and Fort-du-Quefne, so as to secure either from surprise

prize, and which would at the same time admit of their making detachments, in conjunction with the Indians, to attack the settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania that were nearest to their forts. The severity of the season having forced the main body of the French army into winter-quarters, the French commander in chief pursued such measures with the Indians as effectually conciliated many of them to his interest; and then, in concert with them, formed a plan for the operations of the ensuing campaign.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

BOOK II.

Lord Loudon appointed commander in chief of the British troops in North America.—Major-General Abercromby sent thither to command till his arrival.—Bradstreet attacked on the Onondaga river.—Lord Loudon arrives at Albany.—Number and position of the English and French forces.—Oswego taken by the French, who demolish it.—Successful operations of the English under Governor Lawrence.—Fort Granville surprised by the Indians.—Kittanning surprised by the English.—Treaties concluded by the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia with the Indians.—Measures taken for the security of the English colonies during the winter.—Major Rogers employed in making prisoners.—Fort Loudon built by the English.—They are joined at Fort Cumberland by a body of Cherokees.—Drop their design upon Crown-Point, with a view of attacking Louisbourg.—M. de Montcalm's winter-operations.—Fort William-Henry attacked by the French.—They defeat a detachment of the English.—Embargo laid on the shipping by Lord Loudon, to favour his attack on Louisbourg.—He sails from New York; anchors at the Hook.—Disposition for the defence of the frontiers in his absence.—Fort William-Henry besieged by the French.

French.—Capitulates.—Lord Loudon sails for Halifax.—Admiral Holborne arrives there from England.—Troops embark to attack Louisbourg.—The strength of the French discovered.—The English alter their plan of operations.—Lord Loudon returns to New York;—is recalled;—succeeded in his command by General Abercromby.

THE British provinces having applied for a reinforcement of troops, the court of London determined to increase her efforts in North America. The Earl of Loudon was therefore appointed commander in chief in that part of the British empire; but, as he would be necessarily detained some time in England, Major-General Abercromby was ordered to proceed immediately to North America, and take the command of the troops, till his Lordship should arrive. The Earl of Loudon, already colonel of a regiment, was nominated to another, which was to consist of four battalions, to be called the *Royal Americans*, and to be officered chiefly by foreigners; an act of parliament having passed for that purpose. He was likewise constituted governor of Virginia; and was, moreover, invested with such powers as were thought necessary, by giving a greater latitude to his authority, to enable him to promote an union amongst the English colonies. In the mean time, the necessary preparations were made in British America to forward the execution of the plans agreed upon in the council of war that had been held at Albany. The militia of the several provinces were assembled at that place; but there remained, for want of a commander in chief, till the latter end of June, when General Abercromby joined them in that capacity. The General having brought with him the thirty-fifth regiment, and the forty-second, or Lord John Murray's regiment of Highlanders, the British troops now in North America consisted of these two

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corps, Pepperel's, Shirley's, the forty-fourth and forty-eighth regiments; with four independent companies from New York; four from Carolina, and a considerable body of provincials.

Though General Abercromby approved of the plan of operations agreed upon by the Albany council of war, he conceived it by far too extensive to be carried into execution by the forces under his command. He, therefore, thought proper to wait the arrival of Lord Loudon; but, in the mean time, ordered the provincials to march immediately for Fort William-Henry, under the command of General Winslow.

The French diligently availed themselves of this inaction of the English, and M. de Montcalm, who had arrived in Canada, with about three thousand regulars, detached a party to attack Fort Bull on Wood-Creek, in the country of the Five Nations; the whole garrison of which, except two, were scalped. He likewise formed a camp at Ticonderoga, and strengthened the post at Crown-Point. Moreover, being sufficiently apprised that the British forces were not to act offensively till Lord Loudon should take the command, and knowing that his Lordship could not arrive before the season would be elapsed for attacking Crown-Point, or relieving Oswego if attacked by the French, Montcalm resolved to carry into execution a plan formed by M. de Vaudreuil against that fort; and, to insure success to his operations, he placed ambuscades, in order to prevent its receiving any kind of supplies, either of men or provision, from Schenectady.

In the mean time, however, Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet was exerting himself to carry into execution the resolutions
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of the Albany council of war, to form, at Oswego, such magazines of military and other stores as the importance of the place seemed to require; and having left Schenectady on this service, with about three hundred boat-men, the French got intelligence of his proceedings, and formed an ambuscade to intercept him, either in his way to Oswego, or as he should be returning from that place. The detachment for this purpose were to proceed to the north shore of the Onondaga river; and were ordered to fire into the English boats that would pass before the men could land, or make any disposition for their defence. But this body lost their way in the woods, and did not reach the banks of the river, from whence they were to fire on Colonel Bradstreet, till he had passed that place. However, as no proper measures had been taken by the English to scour the country well, the French found means to continue unnoticed in the woods till the Colonel's return. Boats on this kind of service must always be exposed to an attack, from the impossibility of having troops on shore to cover them. Upon these occasions, therefore, it is necessary to make such dispositions as may the soonest enable them to retire from an ambuscade, or give them an opportunity of forming in a manner so as to be able to oppose it. Such was the disposition made by Colonel Bradstreet. He divided his boats into three divisions, with orders to keep at a proper distance asunder, to be the better able to land and support each other. He himself headed the first. Whilst he was stemming the stream of the Onondaga in this order, on the 3d of July, he was saluted with the war-whoop, and a volley of musket bullets, from the northern shore.

Upon this, he ordered his men to land on the opposite banks; and then, recollecting that there was a little island just above him where the enemy might ford the river, and attack his

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his men before they could form, he instantly rowed to it with six men only. But he had scarce got on shore when he was attacked by at least twenty. These, however, he soon repulsed; and, being joined by more of his party, beat them off a second and a third time. The French, therefore, despairing of being able to pass the river at this place, marched in a body along the northern banks to attempt another ford about a mile higher, and Colonel Bradstreet kept moving along the opposite shore with two hundred men to oppose their passage; till, seeing that another detachment had already crossed the river, and posted themselves in a swamp, he fell upon them with so much fury as to leave them no prospect of security but in flight. Many of them, however, fell in their way to the river, and many more were driven into it and drowned. This proved a critical advantage to the English; for the other French party had, by this time, passed the ford; but it was only to experience the same disgrace. The Colonel marched up to them, forced them to give way, drove them to the north shore of the river, and there totally routed and dispersed the whole detachment. This affair continued warm for about three hours, during which the English had above sixty killed and wounded; and the French about one hundred killed, and seventy taken prisoners; and had not a heavy rain come on that night, and continued all the next day, few, if any, of the French would have escaped the same fate; though the French concerned in this affair consisted originally of seven hundred men, and the English they had to deal with were wholly undisciplined. But actions of this kind are so irregular, as to make resolution in the men more than compensate for any want of military knowledge. And this was the case of Colonel Bradstreet's party, which was composed of

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raw Hibernians. They had indeed that confidence in their commander and themselves which is generally a sure sign of victory.

The very night after this affair, Colonel Bradstreet was joined by Captain Patten with a company of grenadiers, in his way from Oneida to Oswego; and the next day by a detachment of two hundred men from the garrison of Oswego; but, before the rain, and the floods, occasioned by its swelling all the adjacent rivulets, would permit them to stir, all the French who had escaped, and were able to march, had got back to Lake Ontario, and either taken refuge on board the vessels which had brought them from Fort Frontenac, or joined a large body of French, which, by the reports of the prisoners, were encamped on the east side of that lake, and made part of an army destined against Oswego. The detachment, therefore, from that place, marched back to it with Captain Patten and his grenadiers, whilst Colonel Bradstreet returned to Schenectady, where, without meeting with any further molestation, he arrived the 14th of July. The next day, he set out for Albany, and communicated to General Abercromby the intelligence he had received from his prisoners concerning the designs of the French upon Oswego.

The General, upon this, immediately ordered Colonel Webb to march with the forty-fourth regiment to reinforce the garrison there; but, somehow or other, this body was delayed till the 26th of July; when Lord Loudon being arrived at New-York, immediately proceeded to Albany, and took upon himself the command of the English army, which now consisted of three thousand regulars and upwards, besides the provincials. The garrison at Oswego was insensibly increased to fourteen hundred

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hundred men; and several parties were stationed on the road between it and Schenectady, in order to preserve an open communication between them. The French, on their side, had about three thousand men at Crown-Point and Ticonderoga. But they had posted their chief strength at Fort Frontinac, in order from thence to carry on their designs against Fort Oswego.

The loss of this place would not only render abortive the grand scheme, which had been so long in agitation by the English, to reduce Niagara, but leave the French masters of the navigation of Lake Ontario, and thereby secure to them a free and easy communication with their forts on the upper lakes, and on the English back-settlements; and by that means rivet to their interest the Indians inhabiting those countries. These considerations required that no time should be lost by Lord Loudon in pursuing the most vigorous measures to improve the intelligence obtained by Colonel Bradstreet. The season, indeed, was too far advanced to attempt Niagara this summer; but had part of the English army, which, as we have before observed, continued all this time most shamefully inactive at Albany, marched to Oswego on the first advice of the motions making by the French, they might have sufficiently fortified themselves there, by intrenchments and other works, so as to have secured that place, and the large magazines formed in it, and have been so far in their way, and in readiness to attack Niagara. But, tho' these were objects of the utmost consequence to the success of the future operations of the war, the detaching of any troops to answer them was strongly opposed by a party at Albany, who thought, that whilst Crown-Point continued in the hands of the French, there could be no security for the province of New-York.

General

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General Winslow, who was to command an expedition against Crown-Point, was already more than sufficiently strong for that purpose, yet this party insisted on his being reinforced with two or three regiments of regular troops; and that an army should likewise continue at Albany to defend it, in case the troops sent against Crown-Point should happen to be defeated. Nay, they strongly opposed the departure of the regiment which General Abercromby had already ordered for Oswego. Some of the New-England colonies joined that of New-York in this opposition; so that it was not without the greatest difficulty Lord Loudon, who did not think proper to do any thing material without their approbation, could so much as prevail upon them to let Colonel Webb depart for Oswego. Therefore it was the 12th of August before that officer could leave Albany; and, by the time he reached the carrying-place between the Mohawk's river and Wood-Creek, he received the disagreeable news that Oswego had been besieged and taken. Thus the public safety of the whole British Empire in North America was made to yield to the private views, or rather blind prejudices, of some leading people in the provinces of New-England and of New-York.

This unexpected intelligence struck such a panic into the Colonel, that he ordered the navigation of Wood-Creek to be destroyed, in order to prevent the French from coming to attack him; whilst they were equally busy in filling up the mouth of the stream, to prevent their being attacked by the English.

It must be owned, however, that the assistance of this regiment alone could not have saved Oswego; the delay of it,

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therefore, cannot be deemed an unhappy circumstance. But, unfortunately for the province of New-York, doomed, as it were, to feel the first bitter fruits of the loss of Oswego, as she had been the first to contribute to that loss, Colonel Webb retreated to Burnett's Field, and from thence to Schenectady: in consequence of his so doing, instead of remaining at the German Flats; this, the finest and most plentiful part of that province, became an easy prey to the French and their Indians. Such of the inhabitants as could not fly from them, were either scalped or made prisoners, their plantations destroyed, and their houses burnt to the ground.

From the little attention bestowed on the preservation of Oswego, it is no way surprising that it fell so easily into the hands of the French; but then it is very extraordinary, that a place of so much importance should be so neglected. The vast magazines of warlike and other stores, that had been formed there, constituted, alone, an object of the utmost consequence. Either no such magazines should have been established there, or proper fortifications should have been erected to secure them. However, it might be reasonably expected, that, as these oversights and neglects were chiefly owing to the extraordinary care and circumspection used to enable General Winslow to act vigorously against Crown-Point, they would be counterbalanced, in some measure, by his success against that place; and that, in consequence of such success, the English, by the end of the campaign, would find themselves masters of all the French forts on Lake Champlain. But all the preparations made for these important purposes terminated in strengthening Fort Edward and Fort William-Henry without striking, or even attempting to strike

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Strike a single blow to retrieve the British affairs, or the glory of the British arms, notwithstanding most of the French troops had been drawn out of Canada, to reinforce those originally intended against Oswego. In the beginning of November the provincial troops returned to their respective provinces, and the regulars to their quarters at Albany; leaving in Fort Edward and Fort William-Henry a garrison of five hundred men each, to secure the passage between Lake George and Hudson's river, and protect the northern frontiers of New-England and New-York against any further incursions the French might undertake during the winter.

We are now to give some account of the plan formed by the French against Oswego, and the execution of it, to which the destruction of Fort Bull, and the attack of Colonel Bradstreet, were the preludes. This plan had been formed early in the spring; and accordingly, as soon as the river St. Lawrence became navigable, the troops intended for the execution of it, were ordered to rendezvous at Fort Frontinac, on Lake Ontario. Thirteen hundred regulars, and seventeen hundred militia, with a body of Indians, assembled there, in consequence of these orders; and, on the 29th of July, were joined by the Marquis de Montcalm, who, immediately on his arrival at Fort Frontinac, dispatched two armed vessels to cruize off Oswego; the one of twelve, the other of sixteen guns; in order to prevent the garrison's receiving any intelligence of his designs by water; and, at the same time, detached a numerous body of Canadians and Indians, with orders to post themselves between Oswego and Albany, for the purpose

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of intercepting any messenger that might attempt to pass from either of these places to the other. Soon after, he ordered his advanced guard to proceed to a creek called *Anse-aux-Cabannes*, three leagues from Oswego; and the first division of it arrived there the 10th of August in the morning, and in the afternoon proceeded through the woods, and took post at another creek, within half a league of Oswego, in order to favour the debarkation of the rest of the troops as near as possible to the object of their operations. For this purpose they, immediately on their arrival there, began to erect a battery pointing to Lake Ontario, in order to protect the ships and other vessels that were coming after them. The 11th and 12th they employed in making fascines, gabions, and such other things as could be made on the spot, and were requisite to forward the use of their artillery, and in cutting a road through the woods to the place where they intended to break ground against the fort. On the 12th, the remainder of the troops arrived with the artillery and provisions: which being landed, the ground intended for the first parallel, and where the first batteries were to be erected, was immediately traced out, at about two hundred yards from Fort Ontario. But before we proceed any further with the besiegers, it is necessary we should see what the besieged were doing to oppose them.

It was so late before the English at Oswego discovered the French who came to attack them, that, instead of having time to construct their batteries with common materials, they were forced to employ barrels of pork for that purpose, and intrench themselves with what few tools they had, on the eminence which commanded the fort, at about two hundred yards distance. This work, which the French should have found

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found ready to receive them, employed the English till the 13th, by which time the French had completed a battery of ten cannon, under cover of a wood, within two hundred yards of Fort Ontario. Upon this, Colonel Mercer ordered part of Pepperel's regiment, which was posted there, to spike up their guns, destroy their ammunition and provisions, and retreat in some whale-boats he had sent for them. This disagreeable task was performed in good order; and, when the troops arrived at the Oswego side, they marched up to the new intrenchments on the eminence which we just now mentioned.

The French being, by this retreat, masters of Fort Ontario, they immediately began to work on a battery, from which, the next morning, they fired into the old fort, on the opposite side of the river, with two twelve-pounders. To these they soon added two others, and one howitzer, which enfiladed the fort so effectually, that all the officers and men, except those on duty, were ordered out of it, and were put under cover of a breast-work. In about two hours after, three guns, which had been mounted on one of the batteries constructed with barrels of pork, were dismounted, and several of the small mortars burst. The guns, however, were re-mounted on other carriages, in spite of a heavy fire from the French; but they were again dismounted in a very short time. Upon this the Marquis de Montcalm increased his fire in the same proportion as that of the English slackened, and ordered a considerable body of men to pass the river, and take post on the Oswego side of it, in order to be in readiness to storm the fort, in conjunction with another body, which was to advance against it in boats, under cover of their ten-gun battery.

Colonel:

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Colonel Mercer, who had been very careful to observe the motions of the French, ordered Colonel Schuyler, with five hundred men, to dispute the passage of the river with them; but he had scarcely delivered these orders, when, going into the fort, to give some others equally necessary, he was killed by a cannon-shot. Upon this, Lieutenant-Colonel Littlehales, upon whom the command now devolved, seeing that the French had already passed the river, and were forming, ordered Colonel Schuyler back, and called a council of war, composed of the captains as well as the field-officers, to be the better able to determine what was to be done in so critical a conjuncture. Mr. Mackeller, the chief engineer, being then asked, How long he thought it was possible for the place to hold out? and answering, "An hour," the fort was voted not tenable; and that therefore it would be the height of folly to wait a storm by such superior numbers. But this did not appear to be the sense of the rest of the garrison, or at least the common men. These could hardly be prevailed upon to think of surrendering to the French. However, the chamade was beat, and two officers were sent to M. de Montcalm, to know what terms he would grant them, without any instructions to ask, themselves, such as a brave garrison had a right to insist upon. The French took the advantage of this cessation of arms. They brought up more cannon, advanced their main body within musket-shot of the place, and made every other preparation necessary to storm it; and M. de Montcalm was himself so sure of carrying his point, that all the answer he condescended to give the English officers sent out to him, was, That he was willing to receive a capitulation upon honourable terms. But these terms, when he

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he came to explain himself, proved as mortifying as he well could make them, viz. That the English should give up their forts, and surrender themselves prisoners of war; in which light he indeed assured them of all the regard they could expect from the politest of nations. Then, keeping Mr. Drake, one of the officers charged with the message to him, as an hostage, till the capitulation should be signed, he sent M. de Bougainville, one of his aids-de-camp, to receive such articles as Lieutenant-Colonel Littlehales might think proper to propose to him, consistent with the terms already mentioned. However, M. de Bougainville soon returned with the following paper:

Conditions required by the Commandant at Oswego, from the Marquis de Montcalm, Army and Field Marshal, and Commander in Chief of the troops of his Most Christian Majesty in North America.

- ARTICLE I. The garrison shall surrender prisoners of war, and shall be conducted from hence to Montreal, where they shall be treated with humanity; and every one in a manner suitable to his rank, according to the customs of war.
- II. The officers, soldiers, and others, shall have their baggage and clothes belonging to them as individuals; and shall be allowed to carry away these their effects with them.
- III. They shall remain prisoners of war till exchanged.

To these proposals, M. de Montcalm gave the following answer:

"I agree to the above articles, in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, on condition, that the besieged shall give

up,

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up, faithfully, the fortifications, artillery, ammunition, magazines, barks, and boats, with their appurtenances.

“ I give full power to M. de le Pauze, Major-General, to reduce this present capitulation into form, and settle the manner in which our troops are to be put in possession of the forts, and the proper steps for securing the English from any insult.

“ Given at the camp before Oswego, the 14th day (at eleven o'clock in the morning) of the month of August 1756.

“ MONTCALM.”

M. de le Pauze having performed the task assigned him in the above answer of M. de Montcalm, the garrison laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Their loss, in killed and wounded, during this siege, was never ascertained; that of the French was so inconsiderable as scarce to deserve the name. It consisted of one engineer, and one gunner, one French and one Canadian soldier, killed; with about twenty regulars and provincials slightly wounded. The loss of the English, during the siege, was not equal to what followed the surrender of the place. The French neglected to relieve the sentries over the English hospital, all the sick and wounded it contained were scalped; as was likewise Lieutenant De la Court, as he lay wounded in his tent, though under the protection of a French officer. Nay, the Indians were permitted, in open contempt of the capitulation, to insult the officers and soldiers as they stood defenceless on the parade, and even to rob them of their baggage, and murder some of them.

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The surviving English officers were indeed sent off to Montreal the next day, but without their men: there they were treated in a manner not to leave any room for complaint; and, in the course of the year, most of them were exchanged.

The conquerors began to demolish the forts as soon as they could remove the magazines contained in them. These were too vast not to merit a particular enumeration. They consisted of one hundred and thirty-five pieces of artillery, of different kinds; a quantity of small arms; twenty-three thousand weight of powder; eight thousand weight of lead and iron, in balls and bullets; one hundred and fifty bombs, with other smaller stores in proportion; and twelve months provisions for four thousand men. The little fleet, which had been put afloat on Lake Ontario, became likewise the prize of the conquerors, with some vessels that were on the stocks. This fleet consisted of the Halifax snow, pierced for eighteen guns on her main deck, but never finished; the London, a brig, pierced for sixteen guns, twelve of which were mounted; two sloops; viz. the Mohawk, pierced for ten, and the Ontario, for six guns; the Oswego, a schooner, of six four-pounders; and a small schooner, of twelve swivels; with a number of boats, and a great quantity of cordage and other naval stores. If the accumulating of such magazines in a place not only justly deemed untenable in itself, but situated out of the reach of immediate assistance, is not sufficient to impeach the honesty of those who were concerned in the contracts, it is at least more than enough to prove, that there existed somewhere a degree of misconduct, which alone might account for the miscarriage of the best laid plans.

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The loss of Oswego was, in some degree at least, compensated to the English by the success of Colonel Lawrence in Acadia or Nova Scotia. He pursued his blow there; and, to make it have the desired effect, was obliged to use great severity, as the French neutrals and Indians, who inhabited that country, refused to conform to the laws, or swear allegiance to the King of Great Britain: nay, many of them had engaged to join, the ensuing spring, the troops that were expected from France, on their own coast, or at Louisbourg; and some of which were taken, on their passage, with military and other stores, by the English cruizers stationed off Cape Breton. Colonel Lawrence pursued those dangerous inmates with fire and sword, burning their houses, driving off their cattle, and making one entire desert of their whole country. At length, shocked at the thoughts of utterly extirpating the French neutrals, though he knew they only waited for a fair opportunity to join the open enemies of Great Britain, he considered that he might reconcile humanity with what he thought sound policy, by transplanting them to some part or another of the British empire; where, from implacable enemies, they, or at least their children, might, in time, become useful subjects. He, therefore, distributed about seven thousand of them that were left, amongst the different English colonies in North America; and thereby established peace and tranquillity throughout the province, to the full extent of its ancient limits, as settled in the cession made of it to Great Britain, by the treaty of Utrecht. Things continued here, in this situation, till the month of February 1756, when a party of three hundred French and Indians began to appear on the frontiers, with a design to make inroads about Chincote, and cut off the English wood-cutters, who were carrying on their

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business in a supposed state of the most profound security from any hostile visit. But Lieutenant-Colonel Scot having got intelligence of their designs, marched with three hundred provincials in quest of them; and fortunately coming up with them time enough to prevent their surprising the wood-cutters, wounded a considerable number, and killed eight Indians on the spot.

About the month of August, Fort Granville, an inconsiderable fort on the confines of Pennsylvania, was surprised by a party of French and Indians, who made the garrison prisoners; but, instead of scalping them, with equal prudence and humanity, loaded them with flour, and drove them into captivity. But the Ohio Morians killed above a thousand inhabitants of the western frontiers. The death of these poor people did not remain long unrevenged. Colonel Armstrong, with a party of two hundred and eighty provincials, marched from Fort Shirley, which had been built by the Pennsylvanians on the Juniata river, about one hundred and fifty miles west of Philadelphia, to Kittanning, an Indian town, and the rendezvous of the Morian murderers, and got near enough to them to discover their situation, early in the morning of the fifth day after his setting out, being the 8th of September, whilst their warriors were regaling themselves at a dance. Then, halting about one hundred perches below the town, on the banks of the river, he prepared his men to attack them; and led them on for that purpose as soon as it was light. Captain Jacobs, the chief of the Indians, gave the war-whoop, and defended his house bravely, through loop-holes in the logs with which it was built. Colonel Armstrong offered them quarter; but many of them justly suspecting the sincerity of the offer, as the many inhuman murders they had been guilty of were yet

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fresh in their memories, they refused to submit. Colonel Armstrong, therefore, ordered their houses to be set on fire, which was immediately done; and many of the Indians were thereby suffocated and burnt; others were shot in attempting to reach the river: Captain Jacobs, his squaw, and a boy called the *King's Son*, met the same fate, as they were getting out of the window; and all were scalped. These Indians had a great number of fire-arms ready loaded in their houses, and a large quantity of gun-powder, which went off, blew up their houses, and killed many of them. Eleven English prisoners were released from captivity, or, perhaps, a most cruel death. These informed the Colonel, that, on that very day, two boats filled with Frenchmen, and a large party of Delawares, were expected to join Captain Jacobs, in order to proceed on an expedition concerted against Fort Shirley; and that, with this view, an advanced party of twenty-four warriors had been detached the preceding evening to reconnoitre the country.

This intelligence was soon after confirmed by Lieutenant Hogg, who had been left to seize on a party of Indians, supposed not to exceed four, whom Colonel Armstrong's scouts had discovered the night before round a fire, but whom he did not chuse to interrupt, lest any one of them might escape and alarm the town. In the morning, when Mr. Hogg attacked this party, they proved to be the twenty-four who had been detached from Kittanning. The first fire that Mr. Hogg gave, killed three of them; but the Indians killed as many of his men in return; upon which the rest of his detachment fled, leaving him desperately wounded behind them. Colonel Armstrong, being informed of this misfortune, sent out a

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party

party to bring in Mr. Hogg, who, notwithstanding all the care that could be taken of him, died of his wounds. Severe as this chastisement of the Indians may appear to be, the effects of it proved merely local. On almost every other part of the frontiers, parties of them and the French still kept skulking, to seize an opportunity of massacring all the British subjects who might come in their way, without respect to age or sex. The governor of Pennsylvania had indeed the good fortune to conclude a treaty of peace with the Delaware Indians, inhabiting the borders of the Susquehanna; and secured the friendship and alliance of the Catawbias. A fort was built at Winchester, called *Fort Loudon*; and some Cherokees joined the garrison of Fort Cumberland.

Experience had taught the English the folly of any great dependence on these alliances with the Indians; yet the present created hopes that, with their assistance, they should be able to prosecute the next campaign in North-America with more vigour than any of the former; especially as reinforcements of regular troops had already landed on that continent. The season was too far advanced to admit of any new enterprize against the enemy. Lord Loudon, therefore, confined his endeavours to the making of preparations for taking the field early the following spring, and in securing the frontiers of the colonies: in forming of an uniform plan of action; and infusing a spirit of concord into the provinces, who were divided in their opinions, or at least acted as if they were, perpetually thwarting each other from illiberal principles of parsimony, at a time when they ought to hazard their whole property to oppose the encroachments of those whose designs extended against their liberties and
lives.

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lives. The Forts Edward and William-Henry were, as we have before observed, well garrisoned, and otherwise put into a proper posture of defence; and, excepting some scouting parties, the remainder of the troops continued in winter-quarters at Albany, where barracks had been built for that purpose. The same precaution was taken at Halifax in Nova Scotia, and three new forts were erected to secure that place against any surprize.

The French army had likewise retired into winter-quarters; so that, on that account, as well as the severity of the season, nothing material could be expected to happen for some months. Thus, then, ended the second campaign between the English and French in North-America, in which the arms of the former were so much dishonoured by misconduct and timidity, that they would have been utterly contemptible, had it not been for the conduct and resolution with which Colonel Bradstreet behaved when attacked by the French on the Onondaga river. Whilst preparations were making on both sides for the next campaign, Captain Rogers, on that of the English, was constantly employed in patrolling the woods about the Forts Edward and William-Henry, and observing the motions of the French at Ticonderoga and Crown-Point; and this service he performed with so much alertness, that he made a great number of prisoners, and thereby procured very good intelligence of the enemy. The substance of this intelligence was, that M. de Montcalm intended to attack Fort William-Henry, as soon as the weather would permit him to take the field.

If, from their numbers, the English had reason to hope that they should be able to push the ensuing campaign with
more

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more vigour than the preceding, almost every subsequent event seemed to thwart their expectations. Notwithstanding the endeavours of the Earl of Loudon to establish unanimity amongst the English colonies, their private interest blinded them to such a degree, as to frustrate all the arguments he could think of to effect so desirable a purpose. This obliged him to become a mediator, in order to engage them to raise the necessary supplies for prosecuting the war. But this his laudable zeal was attended with very little success: diffidence and discord making them procrastinate those measures which required the most immediate execution. The French were too wise to omit taking advantage of the distracted situation of the British colonies. By their successes in the last campaign, they were become entirely masters of all the lakes, and thereby were furnished with the means of practising on the Indians by presents and promises. Every accession to the strength of the French was a real diminution of that of the English. The French had promised the Indians, that they would reduce the forts at Oswego; and their having succeeded in the enterprize, gave them, qualified as they were to judge only by appearances, an idea of their superiority, which M. de Montcalm very well knew how to improve to his advantage. Whilst the precipitate retreat of Colonel Webb, his filling up of Wood-Creek, and thereby destroying the only communication the English had with that part of the country of the Five Nations, exposed these Indians to the mercy of their enemies, and opened the path for the desolation and the ruin which attended the German Flats. This, with the destruction of the fort at the carrying-place, so alienated even the Indians of the Five Nations, that it was with the utmost difficulty that Sir William Johnson, with all his prudence,

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dence, could restrain them from actually declaring in favour of the French.

In the mean time, the Earl of Loudon exerted himself in collecting a sufficient force to strike a decisive blow. With this view, the resolution to attack Crown-Point, which had been so long in agitation, was now laid aside; the taking of that place being an object of far less importance than the reducing of Louisbourg, which was substituted in its stead. Besides, the strength of the mother-country could be more easily brought against this place; and was not so liable to suffer from the disunion of her colonies.

Accordingly preparations were making in England for this grand design, with the greatest vigour and celerity. In the month of January 1757, a considerable body of troops, under Major-General Hopson, as commander in chief, and the Colonels Perry, Forbes, Lord Howe, and other able officers, with a detachment of artillery, were ordered to rendezvous at Cork, and there wait the arrival of a formidable fleet fitting out to escort them to America, and assist them in their operations there. Yet notwithstanding all the dispatch that could be used, it was the 26th of April before this fleet arrived at Cork, when the armament formed thereby consisted of the following land and sea forces.

L A N D-

LAND-FORCES.

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The 2d battalion of the Royal	1000
Seventeenth regiment -	700
Twenty-seventh - -	700
Twenty-eighth - -	700
Forty-third - - -	700
Forty-sixth - - -	700
Fifty-fifth - - -	700
	<hr/>
	5200

SEA-FORCES.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
The Newark	- 80	Admiral Holborne, Captain Holborne
Grafton	- 68	Commod. Holmes, Captain Cornwall
Bedford	- 64	Captain Fowke
Invincible	- 74	Captain Bentley
Terrible	- 74	Captain Collins
Captain	- 64	Captain Amherst
Nassau - -	64	Captain Sawyer
Northumberland	68	Captain Lord Colville
Orford - -	68	Captain Spry
Tilbury	- 60	Captain Barnsley
Defiance	- 60	Captain Baird
Kingston	- 60	Captain Parry
Centurion	- 54	Captain Mantell
Sunderland	- 60	Captain Mackenzie
Port-Mahon	- 24	
Otter sloop		
Hawk		
Furnace bomb	-	Captain Philips
Lightening fire-ship		Captain Martin

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This force, in conjunction with that already in North America, was to assemble at Halifax in Nova-Scotia, and from thence proceed to the attack of Louisbourg.

It was not without a jealous eye that the French beheld the preparations of the English; nor were they ignorant of the object these preparations were levelled against. Thoroughly sensible of the importance of Louisbourg to their possessions and trade in North America, and particularly to their fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, they gave immediate orders for equipping, with the utmost expedition, three several squadrons, to cover and defend that place, as well as to strengthen their forces on the continent. One of these squadrons was fitted out at Toulon, and found means to steal out of the Mediterranean, in spite of all the vigilance of Admiral Saunders, who was stationed off Gibraltar to intercept it; and the other two, which were equipped in the French ports of the ocean, had got to sea, before a powerful fleet, which was destined to attack them, could be made sufficiently ready for that purpose.

Whilst the French were preparing for the next campaign with so much vigour at home, M. de Montcalm vied with them, to the utmost of his power, in Canada. He kept continually on foot, during the whole winter, several small parties, whose business it was to scour the woods, procure intelligence, intercept the supplies of provisions which the English might attempt to send to their out-forts, and harass their back-settlements.

The season being now somewhat advanced, the French were as good as their word respecting Fort William-Henry. M. de Regaud

Regaud was ordered to proceed against that place, with a detachment of about twelve hundred men; and arrived before it on the 19th of March; when, advancing against it without any precaution, his troops were so warmly received with a brisk discharge of cannon and musketry, that they thought proper to retire, after having endeavoured in vain to set fire to a sloop and the boats belonging to the fort. From the implements which they left behind them, it appeared, that their hopes were founded on the success of a general assault. Accordingly, notwithstanding this first disappointment, they made their appearance soon again, in such a disposition as indicated a design to surround the fort. They advanced, for some time, with a great deal of bravery, through a continual discharge of cannon and small arms; but they again retreated. On the 20th, about midnight, they resumed the attack, fully resolved to storm the fort with their whole force; but this attempt succeeded no better than the former. They were driven back a third time; and, after setting fire to two sloops and several boats, retired at day-break. About noon, they seemed to take the rout of Ticonderoga; but, all on a sudden, sent back two men with a red flag towards the fort; from whence an officer and four men were ordered out to meet them. This party carried one of the Frenchmen into the fort, with a letter from M. de Vaudreuil, directed to the commanding officer of Fort William-Henry, and importing, "That he had sent M. le Chevalier de la Merciere, commander of the artillery, to acquaint him with his resolutions; and that he might give entire credit to what that gentleman should say to him in his behalf." M. de la Merciere, who was the other person, was, upon this, brought into the fort, blindfolded. His message was, in substance, "That M. de Vaudreuil, being very averse to the shed-

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ding of human blood, should be glad to put an end to the war; and therefore, for this good purpose, as the English had been the aggressors, by encroaching upon the territories of his Most Christian Majesty, and building forts upon them, he proposed, that the said forts might be delivered up to him in a peaceable manner; in which case the garrisons should be allowed all the honours of war, and be permitted to carry away all their valuable effects, leaving only something to gratify the Indians, from whom they had nothing to fear, as there were regulars enough to protect them from any violence that might be offered: That, if these terms were not accepted, the French would make a general assault; in which, should they succeed, the garrison must take the consequences." To this extraordinary summons, Major Eyres, the commanding officer, returned the following short answer: "That it was his fixed resolution to defend his Majesty's fort to the last extremity." M. de la Merciere was then dismissed, and conducted back blindfolded. Soon after he arrived at his own army, the French wheeled about, and prepared every thing for a general assault. But neither their threats nor superior numbers could intimidate the garrison. Both men and officers behaved with the greatest vigilance, and shewed the greatest resolution, fully determined to die rather than yield; and they had occasion for it all. The French returned to the attack; but were again obliged to retire for the fourth time. Nevertheless, as though this was a service to be executed at all events, they once more prepared for an assault; and in the night made a general attack; but still without success. Upon this, they set fire to several store-houses belonging to the provincial troops, and to all the huts of the rangers, which were consumed. They afterwards burnt a sloop on the

the flocks; and then totally disappeared. Had not this gar-
rison been strong enough, and resolute enough to make a
proper use of that strength, nothing could have hindered the
French from penetrating to Albany; the consequences of
which might have been fatal to every part of the British em-
pire in North America.

The miscarriage of this attempt against Fort William-Henry,
was somewhat alleviated to the French by an advantage they
gained over a detachment of about four hundred men, com-
manded by Colonel John Parker, who went by water to attack
their advanced guard, near Ticonderoga. He landed in the
night on an island; and, before day-break, sent three boats
to the main-land, to reconnoitre the enemy. But the French,
being on their guard, surpris'd these boats, and made all the
men in them prisoners. Then, having procured, by this
capture, intelligence of the Colonel's designs, they formed their
plan accordingly. They posted three hundred men in ambush
behind the point where he propos'd to land; and sent the
boats they had taken, with men of their own in them, to the
place where he had ordered his own men to lie on their oars,
as a signal for him to land. The bait took. Colonel Parker,
believing these boats to be still his, eagerly put on shore, where
he was surrounded by the enemy, who had been reinforced in
the mean time, with four hundred men; and was attacked
with so much impetuosity, that, of his whole detachment, not
above the one half escap'd being either killed or taken pri-
soners.

Whilst the little war was thus carrying on, the Earl of
Loudon was seriously engaged in making every necessary pre-
paration to assemble his troops, and repair to the rendezvous

at

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at Halifax; and, the better to conceal his designs from the enemy, render provisions cheaper to the English forces, and make sure of a sufficient number of vessels to carry his troops to Louisbourg, he laid an embargo on all the ships in the English North-American ports. But the merchants and planters; all, in fine, except those who were not concerned in the contracts for the army and navy, cried out loudly against the measure. They openly affirmed, that it was impossible it should ever do any good; whereas it already did a great deal of mischief, by causing a stagnation in every branch of trade, and rendering corn a dreg in America, at a time when England was in danger of a famine for want of it. For, just before the orders for this embargo were issued, accounts had been received from England, that, through a failure of the last year's crops, both in England and Ireland, bread was become so excessive dear, that the common people, in many places, were on the point of rising; and, with these melancholy accounts, there came orders to ship considerable quantities of wheat and flour, to relieve the nation from this distress. Nay, these orders were so pressing, that most of them had been already complied with, and several vessels loaded before the embargo took place. The merchants, and indeed the whole body of the people of England, who suffered equally, if not more, by this preposterous measure, than the Americans, were proportionally disgusted and provoked by it; and complained of it in such bitter terms, and remonstrated against it with so much spirit, that instructions were immediately sent to the respective governors of the British colonies in North-America, never, for the future, to attempt laying any embargo on ships bound from their ports to those of Great Britain or Ireland.

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A considerable part of the English troops stationed on the northern frontiers of the British settlements adjoining to Canada, and in other parts, were now drawn to New-York, where a number of transports were collected together, and ordered to be in readiness to receive them. On the 6th of May, Sir Charles Hardy, governor of that place, hoisted his flag as rear-admiral of the blue, on board the *Nightingale* of twenty guns; the troops expecting every day to embark, as the commander in chief waited only to hear of the fleet from England being arrived at Halifax. During this state of suspense, on the 20th, there was a hot press at New-York, and four hundred men were taken into the service. Between the 22d and the 25th, the troops were embarked, and ordered to Sandy-hook, where the transports came to an anchor. On the 5th of June, Lord Loudon followed, and embarked on board the *Sutherland*, now commanded by Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Hardy; determined, however, not to sail without further intelligence: for, before he left New-York, he had learned from the prisoners made on board some French ships brought into that port, that these prizes were part of a fleet of French merchant-men, under convoy of five ships of the line, designed for Louisbourg, from which they had not been a long while separated. This intelligence was confirmed by an express from Boston, informing him, That five French ships of the line, and a frigate, commanded by Monsieur de Beaufremont, had been seen cruising off Halifax, to intercept, it was thought, Sir Charles Hardy's fleet; but had retired, in consequence of the report of a fisherman, that the English had actually twenty sail of the line in the harbour of Halifax. This news, as far as it concerned the arrival of the fleet from England, being false, it was highly probable, that as soon as M. de Beaufremont should

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should find it to be so, he would return to his station. As therefore Sir Charles Hardy was by no means a match for him, Lord Loudon had no expedient left but to continue at anchor, and dispatch two ships of war to reconnoitre the coast. These ships returning without being able to see the enemy, or learn any thing about them, the fleet was ordered to unmoor, and sailed from the Hook on the 20th, with instructions to rendezvous, in case of separation, at Halifax. This armament consisted of the Sutherland of 50 guns, the Nightingale of 20, the Vulture of 14, the Ferret of 16, and about seventy transports, having on board the 22d, 42d, 44th and 48th regiments, two battalions of Royal Americans, together with five companies of rangers commanded by Captain Rogers.

Part of a battalion of Royal-Americans, about a thousand of the Pennsylvania, three hundred Maryland, and six hundred Virginia provincials, commanded by Colonel Stanwix, were ordered for the protection of the western frontiers; and, in Carolina, part of a battalion of Royal-Americans, commanded by Colonel Bouquet, with three independent companies, and the colony troops, were to be employed for the same purpose. The only force left to observe and oppose the vigilant and active M. de Montcalm on the frontiers of New-York, was the garrison of Fort William-Henry, commanded by Colonel Monro, with an army of four thousand men under Colonel Webb to cover it. But though Webb was well acquainted with all the motions of M. de Montcalm, he beheld them with an indifference and security bordering on infatuation. In particular, he neglected to collect the militia, which, when assembled, would have been sufficient to oblige M. de Montcalm to relinquish a design he had formed, to renew the operations against Fort William-

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Henry, or at least would have rendered the execution of it very doubtful and hazardous. At length, however, the appearance of M. de Montcalm on the Lake, roused him from his lethargy; but filled him, at the same time, with such terrible apprehensions, that he determined to retire immediately to Fort Edward. But he was prevailed on to stay till the next morning, when he marched off early with a strong train of artillery, leaving Colonel Monro, with about two thousand men, to defend the fort.

We must now take leave of the English for a short time, to relate the proceedings of the French immediately prior and subsequent to the appearance of M. de Montcalm on the Lake. No sooner had Lord Loudon put to sea, than M. de Montcalm seized on the fair opportunity thereby afforded him, of renewing his favourite project against Fort William-Henry. He had collected his forces at Ticonderoga, where, being joined by a considerable body of Indians, his whole army amounted to about eight thousand men, well provided with artillery and stores of every kind in proportion to their numbers. He therefore lost no time in putting his troops in motion, part by land, and part in boats. Those who marched by land, were commanded by M. de Levi, and consisted of six companies of grenadiers; seven pickets, of fifty men each; ten brigades of Canadians, of four hundred men each; another body of three hundred Canadians, and seven or eight hundred Indians. These forces began their rout on the 30th of July. On the 1st of August, the remainder embarked, and proceeded in the following order: the artillery, the regiments of La Reine and Languedoc, and one battalion of the marine, formed the first division, by way of an advanced guard; the regiments of Guienne and La Sarre followed; the boats, with the mortars,

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ammunition.

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ammunition and other stores, guarded by the regiment of Royal Rouffillon, and a corps of Canadians under M. de Rigaud, formed a rear guard; the whole under the command of M. de Montcalm in person. At midnight they arrived at a bay which the Indians called Ganoulky bay; where they found M. de Levi in a very good situation, either to favour their debarkation, or to receive an enemy. The next day, about noon, M. de Levi began his march; and the rest of the army, about two hours after, proceeded in their boats, and at about ten in the evening arrived in a bay very near the fort. Some French savages perceiving two English boats at a distance, and fearing they might be discovered by them, Guisenick, chief of the Abenakies, pursued them with two canoes, and paddled towards them with so much celerity, that one of the boats surrendered with little resistance; when all the men in it, except two, were massacred: the other escaped. The prisoners made in that which was taken, informed M. de Montcalm, that the garrison had discovered his approach, and intended to make a sortie of twelve hundred men to meet the French in the woods. This news was agreeably received, as a battle, he hoped, would supersede the necessity of a siege. The state and position of the English, of which till now the French had not the least idea, became likewise known to them by this accident; so that, being no longer under any necessity to secret themselves, part of their savages, in canoes, to the number of one hundred and twenty, stood out into the Lake; and forming a chain from one side to the other, gave their cry of war. The army likewise began their march by land, M. de Levi commanding the advanced guard, which was composed of all the savages left on shore. As the rest of the army approached the fort, it formed into three columns, whilst the
savages

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savages retired into the woods; where discovering a party which had been in search of some cattle, they soon took forty scalps, and fifty head of cattle. The French spent the 3d of August in reconnoitring the place and its environs, and erecting some batteries; but their savages being impatient to begin the attack on the fort before any cannon could be mounted, M. de Montcalm, the next day, sent the Governor the following summons.

August 4th, 1757.

“ I have this morning invested your fort with a numerous army, a superior artillery, and all the savages from the upper parts of the country, the cruelty of whom a detachment of your garrison has so lately experienced. I am obliged in humanity to desire you to surrender your fort. I have it yet in my power to restrain the savages, and to oblige them to observe a capitulation, as none of them have been as yet killed; which it will not be in my power to do in other circumstances; and your persisting to defend your fort, can only retard the loss of it a few days, and must infallibly expose an unhappy garrison who can receive no succours considering the precautions that I have taken. I demand a decisive answer immediately, for which purpose I have sent you the Sieur Fonville, one of my aids-de-camp. You may give entire credit to what he will inform you, as from me.

I am, with respect, &c.

MONTCALM.”

This summons was answered by Colonel Monro with that spirit which the importance of his charge required. He said, he was determined to defend the fort till the last extremity,

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or till, by the assistance of Colonel Webb, M. de Montcalm should be compelled to retire.

This determined answer served only to accelerate the works of the French, who not meeting any opposition from the quarter whence they most dreaded it, the army under Colonel Webb, prosecuted the siege with the utmost vigour. In the night between the 4th and 5th, the trenches were so far advanced, that on the 6th, at day-break, the fort was saluted with ten pieces of cannon and one nine-inch mortar. This gave the savages fresh spirits, though they did not want any increase to be sufficiently mischievous. Numbers of them, skulking behind stumps of trees; and others, who with some Canadians had found means to hide themselves in a garden near the fort, kept a constant fire on every thing that appeared on the ramparts, and continued it during the whole siege.

The besieged, notwithstanding, conducted their defence with the greatest spirit and resolution. Neither the threats nor the promises of M. de Montcalm made any impression on them, as long as they continued in a condition to defend themselves, or could reasonably hope for any assistance from Colonel Webb. But the vanity of depending on him was soon evinced by the arrival of M. de Bougainville, with an intercepted letter from Colonel Webb to Colonel Monro, which M. de Montcalm immediately sent him. This letter imported, that he did not think it prudent to attempt a junction with the Colonel, or endeavour to assist him, till he should be reinforced by the militia of the colonies; and therefore advised him to make the best terms he could. Though every prospect of relief from Colonel Webb was now at an end, the garrison still persisted

sisted in a resolute defence; till having expended all their bombs, and beginning to want ammunition, at the same time that the besiegers proportionally increased their fire, and advanced their approaches across a swamp, so as nearly to surround the fort, Colonel Monro thought it would be only throwing away his men's lives to hold out any longer. He therefore demanded to capitulate, and the following articles were agreed upon:

Capitulation granted to Lieutenant-Colonel Monro for his Britannic Majesty's garrison of Fort William-Henry, the intrenched camp adjoining, and all their dependencies.

ART. I. The garrison of Fort William-Henry, and the troops which are in the intrenched camp, shall, after being joined, march out with their arms, and the usual honours of war.

ART. II. The gate of the Fort shall be delivered up to the troops of his Most Christian Majesty, and the intrenched camp, immediately on the departure of the British troops.

ART. III. All the artillery, warlike-stores, provisions, and, in general, every thing except the private effects of the officers and soldiers, shall, upon honour, be delivered up to the troops of his Most Christian Majesty. Provided always, that this article shall extend to the Fort and the intrenchments, and their dependencies.

ART. IV. The garrison of the Fort, the troops in the intrenchments, and the dependencies of both, shall not serve for:

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for the space of eighteen months, neither against his Most Christian Majesty nor his allies.

ART. V. All the officers and soldiers, Canadians, women and savages, who have been made prisoners by land since the commencement of the war in North-America, shall be delivered up in the space of three months at Carillon; and, according to the receipt which shall be given by the French commanding officers to whom they shall be delivered, an equal number of the garrison of Fort William-Henry shall be capacitated to serve, agreeable to the return given in by the English officer of the prisoners he has delivered.

ART. VI. An officer shall be left as an hostage till the return of the detachment, which shall be given for an escort to his Britannic Majesty's troops.

ART. VII. All the sick and wounded, that are not in a condition to be transported to Fort Edward, shall remain under the protection of the Marquis de Montcalm, who will take proper care of them, and return them as soon as recovered.

ART. VIII. There shall be issued provisions for the subsistence of the British troops for this day and to-morrow only.

ART. IX. The Marquis de Montcalm, being willing to shew Colonel Monro and the garrison under his command, marks of esteem, on account of their honourable defence, gives them one piece of cannon, a six-pounder.

Done in the trenches before Fort William-Henry,

9th August 1757.

GEORGE MONRO.

Agreed

Agreed to in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, agreeable to the powers vested in me by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, his Governor-General, and Lieutenant-General of New-France.

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Notwithstanding this capitulation, the Indian chiefs insisted on the performance of a previous agreement made with M. de Montcalm, who had promised them the plunder of the English; and, on M. de Montcalm's refusing to comply, they resolved to execute the agreement themselves. Accordingly, as soon as the garrison had surrendered, they began an assault upon the men, killing and scalping about ten or a dozen of them. The Colonels Monro and Young, with a great number, found means to gain protection from the French; and about six hundred more of the garrison fled and escaped to Fort-Edward. The French Indians made slaves of all the English Indians and negroes; and the French demolished the fort, destroyed all the English vessels and boats upon the Lake, carried off all the artillery and other warlike stores and baggage, one hundred live oxen, and provisions for five thousand men for six months; but without pursuing their success by any other attempt.

That the French savages broke this capitulation, is universally confessed; and it has been said, it was with the consent and approbation of M. de Montcalm: that a partizan who led the French savages, gave the death halloo, when the English marched out of the Fort, to gratify the Indians.

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in their lust for blood and plunder. But the truth is, that as soon as the horrid scene commenced, M. de Montcalm exerted his utmost endeavours to put a stop to it. He laid bare his own bosom, and bade them kill their father, but spare the English, who were now under his protection; he even desired the English to defend themselves, and fire on the savages; but the English were seized with such an unaccountable stupor, that they submitted to the tomahawk without resistance; nor were M. de Montcalm's officers idle in the cause of humanity; many of them were wounded in endeavouring to rescue the persons of the English from the barbarous rage of the savages; and, after they had got them into their tents, stood themselves as sentries over them for their preservation, till the fury of their savage allies had subsided. Incidents of this kind are almost always exaggerated in the recital; for the impressions of fear are in general too stubborn to yield to the clearest truths; and the prejudices of weak minds are not to be removed by the efforts of reason, which can operate on those alone who possess it. Hence it is, that the ear of credulity is so often imposed on by the false representation of actions, which, when related with impartiality, are many times found deserving the highest approbation. If it be asked, Why M. de Montcalm did not make use of his own troops to prevent these cruelties? the answer is obvious; the English were armed, and superior in number to the savages; and were, besides, as we have already said, desired by the French General to defend themselves; nay, even to fire on the Indians his friends. Moreover, the balance of power in North-Ame-

rica, was now in the hands of the savages ; and however humanity might urge M. de Montcalm to interfere with his whole force, reasons of policy and duty to his country bade him not hazard the consequences that might attend such a step. Though we cannot help shuddering at the recollection of this tragical event, yet candour requires we should speak of it as we have done. Let not then the generosity of the English, when it can take place consistent with truth, suffer an undeserved blot to remain and sully the reputation of a noble enemy and an excellent soldier.

Having thus related the consequences of the Earl of Loudon's taking so many of the English troops from this part of North-America, it is now necessary we should pursue the detail of the enterprize in which these troops were to be employed, as the success of it could scarce fail to determine the issue of the war.

We have said, that Lord Loudon sailed from Sandy Hook on the 20th of June ; but we did not observe, that, as there was some reason to apprehend he might meet in his passage with a French fleet superior to that which carried him, especially as there was no account of Admiral Holborne, it was rather trusting too much to chance to risque the loss of so considerable a part of the troops as were to be employed in the expedition. The only excuse therefore, if any, that can, with any propriety, be urged for such an hazardous attempt, was the season being so far advanced, and the necessity there was of saving as much time as possible for the business of the approaching campaign. Be that as it will, Fortune seemed to interest herself in conducting the arma-

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armament under him to Halifax, where it arrived on the thirtieth of June, and was augmented by the following sea and land forces:

The Nottingham man of war	60 guns
The Arc-en-ciel	50
The Winchelsea	24
The Success	22
The Elphingham	20
The Baltimore	16
The Jamaica	14
And the Speedwell	12

A detachment of the fortieth, the forty-fifth, and the forty-seventh regiments, with a detachment of Royal Artillery, had been for some time at Halifax. As soon as the troops from New-York had landed, the ground being uneven, the men were employed in making a parade for exercise, and a garden to furnish vegetables for the sick and wounded, who might be sent thither for their recovery, in case the intended attack against Louisbourg should take place.

In the mean time, several of the best sailing vessels were dispatched, under able pilots, to look into Louisbourg harbour, and make what discoveries might be necessary; and some of the English fleet were daily arriving, till, at length, by the ninth of July, the whole armament was assembled. It consisted of the following ships and regiments; which were immediately formed in the order in which we give them.

THE FLEET.

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Ships of the Line, in Line of Battle.

To repeat signals. Hunter Laforey.	{ Kingston	60 guns	Captain Parry	This division com- manded by Sir C. Hardy, Rear- Admiral of the Blue.
	{ Captain	64	Amherst	
	{ Invincible	74	Sir C. Hardy, Bentley	
	{ Nassau	64	Sawyer	
Portma- hone.	{ Sutherland	50	Falkingham	Francis Holborne Esq; Vice-Admi- ral of the Blue.
	{ Tilbury	60	Barnsley	
	{ Northumberland	68	Lord Colville	
	{ Newark	80	Ad. Holb ^{re} . Holborne	
	{ Orford	68	Spry	
	{ Sutherland	68	M'Kenzie	
Ferret Upton.	{ Centurion	54	Mantell	Charles Holmes Esq; Commodore.
	{ Nottingham	60	Marshall	
	{ Bedford	64	Fowke	
	{ Grafton	68	C. Holmes, Cornwall	
	{ Terrible	74	Collins	
	{ Defiance	60	Baird	

Frigates ordered to lie off with the Transports.

Winchelsea	20	Rous
Kennington	20	Diggs
Furnace		
Vulture		
Hawk		Bradley
Succes		Oury
Baltimore		
Jamaica		

Men of war ordered to remain at Halifax.

L'arc en Ciel	
Windfor	
Nightingale	Campbell
Speedwell	Bond
Grenada	
Gibraltar's Prize	
Harriot-packet-boat.	

HISTORY OF THE

THE ARMY,

Divided into the following Brigades :

First brigade to be commanded by Major-General Hopson.

Royal
Forty-fourth
Fifty-fifth
Twenty-eighth

Second brigade. Major-General Abercombie.

Seventeenth
Forty-sixth
Second battalion of the sixtieth
Forty-second

Third brigade. Major-General Lord Charles Hay.

Twenty-second
Forty-eighth
Fourth battalion of the sixtieth
Forty-third

A corps de reserve, formed from the twenty-seventh, fortieth, forty-fifth and forty-seventh regiments, to consist of seven hundred men, to be commanded by Governor-Colonel Lawrence.

And a detachment of three hundred and seventy men of the Royal Artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Williamson.

So vast an armament, in so distant a part of the world, filled the subjects of Great Britain with the most sanguine expectations; but the want of intelligence prevented the Admiral and the General from doing any thing to realize them. In the mean time,

the farce of sham battles and sieges was acted in the highest degree; in order, as it was said, to perfect the undisciplined troops in the whole art of attack and defence. Whether the General could have better employed his army or not, these measures were highly censured by some as trifling away the courage of the soldiers, and expending the wealth of the nation, in mock engagements and planting of cabbages, when they should have been usefully employed in real attacks on the enemies of their king and country. The extraordinary ardour of Lord Charles Hay having made him much louder than others in condemning Lord Loudon's behaviour on this occasion, a council of war was called to consider the tendency of his reflections; and the consequence was his being put under an arrest. At length, from intelligence received by vessels that had been ordered to keep on the look-out for that purpose, it was determined to prosecute the intended enterprize; and the troops were embarked the first and second of August, with orders to rendezvous at Gabarus bay, a little to the westward of Louisbourg harbour. But, on the fourth, before they could put to sea, it was discovered by a French prize schooner, which, after a chase of several hours, had been taken on the banks of Newfoundland, that there was then actually in garrison at Louisbourg three thousand regulars, besides some Indians, and the Burghers who had taken up arms; and, in the harbour, the following formidable French fleet, which had arrived there so early as the month of June: For, on the fourth of that month, M. Reveft arrived with

Le Hector	74 guns
L'Achille	64
Le Vaillant	64
Le Sage	64

And

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And on the fifth M. Beaufremont with the

L'Etonnant	80 guns
Le Defenseur	74
Le Diademe	74
L'Inflexible	64
L'Eveill�	64

And on the twenty-ninth M. de la Mothe with

Le Duc de Bourgogne	80
Le Formidable	84
Le Superbe	74
Le Glorieux	74
Le Heros	74
Le Dauphin Royal	70
Le Bellequeux	64
Le Celebre	64
Le Bizarre	64

F R I G A T E S.

La Brune	36
Le Bienacquis	40
La Comete	30
La Hermione	26
La Fochine	36
La Fleur de lis	36

This intelligence produced a council of war, the result of which was to recal the former orders to rendezvous at Gabarus bay, and even totally change the plan of the campaign.

Accordingly, the royal and twenty-eighth regiments were ordered to disembark and encamp, all the other regiments remaining on board, with orders to send for their heavy baggage and

and the sick which they had left on shore. The twenty-seventh, the forty-third, and the forty-sixth regiments, with a detachment of the royal artillery, were to be in readiness to sail for the bay of Fundy under the command of Governor Lawrence; and, when the object of this detachment was fulfilled, the twenty-seventh were to go to Boston, and six companies of the forty-third to Annapolis. The other four were to garrison Fort Edward about thirty-six miles from Halifax; and the forty-sixth Fort Cumberland. Major-General Hopson was left to command at Halifax, and the rest of the army was to proceed with the earl of Loudon to New-York, whilst Admiral Holborne was to cruize off Louisbourg, and watch the motions of the French fleet in that harbour, in order, if possible, to bring them to an action.

These resolutions were taken on the sixteenth of August, and, in pursuance of them, the whole fleet soon got under way, the ships which composed it taking their course agreeable to their several destinations. But they were scarce separated, when an express arrived from Boston with dispatches to the earl of Loudon, informing him of the fate of Fort William-Henry. A signal therefore was made for the fleet to lie to, and a council of war was immediately held on board the Winchelsea; in consequence of which, the orders of the twenty-seventh and forty-sixth regiments were altered; these corps were now to accompany the earl of Loudon, and General Hopson was to replace them with the twenty-eighth. Matters being thus settled, the several squadrons made sail again in the evening; Admiral Holborne for Louisbourg; that with Lord Loudon for New-York; and that with the rest of the troops which had not been relanded for the bay of Fundy.

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On the thirty-first of August, Lord Loudon arrived with his troops at New-York, where they were immediately put on board small vessels, and sent to Albany. Fort Edward being now the most advanced post of the English, the garrison was increased, and the command of it given to Lieutenant-Colonel Haviland. Lord Loudon likewise repaired thither in person to give some directions about its defences, and afterwards returned to Albany. Captain Rogers was then dispatched on a scout to Ticonderoga, with orders to make some prisoners. Having succeeded, he returned with them to Fort Edward. The account given by these prisoners was, that the garrison of Ticonderoga consisted of about three hundred and fifty regulars; and that of Crown-Point of about one hundred and fifty. The weakness of these posts naturally suggested the propriety of hazarding an attempt on the first by an escalade; but, after many preparations for that purpose, the project was abandoned.

The forty-third regiment, and the detachment of artillery, commanded by Governor Lawrence, arrived in *Beau-Bassin*, about five miles from Fort Cumberland, on the twenty-fourth of August; and, on the twenty-sixth, was disembarked and encamped. A detachment of the fortieth, forty-fifth, and forty-seventh regiments, equal to a battalion, were already in garrison there, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Wilmot. On the thirtieth, the twenty-eighth regiment arrived and encamped. These troops were intended for the protection of Fort Cumberland, and the circumjacent country. They were kept in constant alarms by small parties of the French rangers, and were extremely harassed in constructing of lines, and otherwise making
Fort

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Fort Cumberland a respectable station. This work being completed by the eighth of October, the forty-third regiment was ordered to embark their baggage; and the twenty-eighth to remain in garrison with a company of rangers. On the fourteenth of October, six companies of the forty-third sailed for Annapolis Royal; and the other four for Fort Edward, in order to relieve the garrisons of these places, which sailed for Halifax. On the twenty-fifth, Governor Lawrence, who had touched at Annapolis in his way from Fort Cumberland, sailed also for Halifax with the detachment of the fortieth, forty-fifth, and forty-seventh regiments, which he had brought with him from Fort Cumberland.

The garrisons of Annapolis Royal and Fort Edward were obliged to be alert; for parties of the French kept continually skulking about in their neighbourhood. This, together with the severity of the season, and sometimes a scarcity of provisions, involved them in great distress.

Nothing worthy of our attention attended the troops under Colonel Stanwix, or those that were detached to the southward under Lieutenant-Colonel Bouquet.

In the conduct of this campaign, Lord Loudon was censured for having ordered so many of the regular troops from the frontiers of New-York, and thereby leaving so extensive and valuable a part of that country, as well as the province itself, exposed to the insults of the enemy. But this conclusion is by no means just. He was well warranted in drawing off these forces, by the strength of the garrison of Fort William-

P

Henry,

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Henry, consisting of a detachment of the thirty-fifth, and a battalion of the Royal American regiment, exclusive of the provincials; the whole amounting to two thousand men. For these troops, with the army under Colonel Webb, and the militia which he ought to have assembled, were doubtless strong enough, if conducted with proper resolution, to oppose and frustrate any designs of the French. A general, indeed, ought not to be accountable for the behaviour of his subordinate officers; but then, it is his duty to take care that such as are appointed to particular commands under him, should be men of approved courage and abilities; the retreat, or rather the flight, of Colonel Webb, when he heard of the loss of Oswego, could not recommend him to the commander in chief as possessed of either.

Though the defensive plans of the English were thus shamefully neglected, and their offensive views against Louisbourg miscarried, in some degree, it must be owned, through an unforeseen event, yet there was no occasion for persisting in the design against that place so long as to be obliged to omit other operations. Minute intelligence is the fountain of success. Without it, the measures of a general must be continually exposed to the sport of chance. It had, no doubt, been highly censurable in Lord Loudon to have prosecuted the intended enterprize, without knowing somewhat certain of the strength of the French; but, surely, the proper steps should have been taken to attain that knowledge in time. Had this been done, the council of war would have come to the same conclusions much earlier; and the troops, of course, might have been back time enough to save Fort William-Henry.

Thus

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Thus ended the third campaign between the English and the French in North-America, in which the English, notwithstanding their manifest superiority over the French, left their allies exposed to the resentment of a cruel enemy, and suffered the inhabitants of their back-settlements to be massacred in their sight, to the eternal reproach of those who directed the British arms in this part of the world, and not without dishonour to the British name.

Though the unfortunate operations of the Earl of Loudon in the field did not, as we have already hinted, escape the severity of censure, his abilities in council were productive of such plans, as, in future, added greatly to the natural power of the British colonies in North-America, and roused them into such an exertion of their strength, as procured them almost immediate security. This happy condition was so much improved by a succeeding commander, as to enable them, with the assistance of the mother-country, to subdue the whole power of France in that part of the world.

Whilst the severity of the season confined the respective armies in their different quarters, the sparks of war were kept alive by a few scouting parties, without any material advantage on either side; and, in the mean time, a change in the English ministry having produced the recal of the Earl of Loudon, the command of the English forces devolved on Major-General Abercromby.

The English fleet, whilst cruizing off Louisbourg, was surprised, on the 24th of September, by a violent gale of wind, in which the whole of it had nearly perished. The Tilbury was driven ashore on the island of Cape Breton; and two hun-

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dred and twenty-five of her hands were drowned. The remainder of her crew, amounting to one hundred and seventy-five, were taken up by the French, and afterwards sent, under a flag of truce, to Halifax. The Newark drove into Halifax, after throwing eight of her guns overboard. Others were obliged to do the same, being, for the greatest part, dismasted. In this distressed situation, Admiral Holborne, with as many ships as he could collect, made the best of his way for England, excepting only a small squadron which he left at Halifax, under the command of Lord Colville, to protect the trade of the English, and watch the motions of the French in those seas.

THE H I S T O R Y OF THE L A T E W A R I N A M E R I C A.

B O O K III.

Mr. Pitt resumes the expedition against Louisbourg.—Procures Colonel Amherst the command of the army, and Admiral Boscawen that of the fleet destined to attack that place.—The Admiral sails from England.—General Amherst meets him coming out of the harbour of Halifax.—Sea and land forces employed against Louisbourg.—General Amherst's journal of the expedition.—Louisbourg capitulates.—Admiral Boscawen's letter to Mr. Pitt.—Reflections on the siege of Louisbourg.—Armament sent against the French settlements.—General Amherst reinforces General Abercromby.—Operations of the English against Ticonderoga, which General Abercromby attacks by assault:—He miscarries in the attempt.—Colonel Bradstreet takes Fort Frontenac.—Importance of the conquest.—Brigadier Forbes proceeds against Fort-du-Quebec.—Colonel Stanwix erects Fort Stanwix.—General Amherst appointed commander in chief of the British forces in North-America.—Generals Abercromby and Wolfe return to England.

THE plans of action formed by the English ministry for the preceding campaign in North-America, were such as could not be executed but at a very monstrous expence; and therefore, their having been little more than

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barely attempted, gave the people of England the greatest disgust. They were, and not without reason, tired with seeing those preparations end in an empty blaze, which they were made to believe must terminate in the reduction of the power and pride of France; and for which they had, accordingly, most cheerfully granted the ministry all their exorbitant demands. They were shocked at the sight of fleets returning to their harbours, and the news of armies retiring to their winter-quarters, almost without striking a single stroke; and began to grow so clamorous, attributing all their losses and disgraces to the want of honesty, or spirit, or prudence, in those about the throne, that the King of Great Britain thought it necessary to remove his ministers, and replace them with men more agreeable to the bulk of his subjects. Of this number was again appointed Mr. Pitt, one of the secretaries of state; a post, which, by every virtue and talent necessary to fill it worthily, became, in him, equivalent to that of prime minister. The rescuing, therefore, the soldiery from that languor into which the dispirited behaviour of their leaders had thrown them, and the English arms from that dishonour which was the unhappy consequence of both, seemed to demand the first exertion of his superior abilities, in which the people had placed the most unbounded confidence; and this confidence he immediately justified, by measures which inspired every department and every rank with new life. He resumed the expedition against Cape Breton; and, informed by late experience, that wisdom and precaution in the cabinet avail little without adequate conduct and resolution in the field, he thought it high time to employ other officers in both the military and naval service in North-America. Accordingly,

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ly, having observed in Colonel Amherst a solid judgment, a steady courage, and an active genius, he, without fear of offending others older in command, in a case where the honour and interest of his country were deeply concerned, recommended him so strenuously to the King, that he was thereupon recalled from the service in Germany, promoted to the rank of major-general, and appointed to command the land-forces destined for the attack of Louisbourg.

Nor was Mr. Pitt less guarded and alert in providing for the success of the naval service in that part of the world. The honourable Edward Boscawen was named to the command of a grand fleet to join in that attack; and, so early as the 19th of February, sailed from Portsmouth for Halifax in Nova-Scotia, to be not only in the greater readiness to act himself in his own province, but make all the preparations he could to enable General Amherst to proceed in his with the utmost vigour. With this view, he was provided with a commission that gave him the command even of the army, till it should be superseded by the arrival of General Amherst.

As the operations of the English on the continent were once more to be directed against Ticonderoga and Fort du Quesne, Captain Rogers, being appointed a major in America only, and the corps of rangers under his command being augmented, was ordered to discover the strength of the French at the first of these places. Accordingly, the Major issued from Fort Edward, on this service, with one hundred and seventy men, on the 10th of March; but, on the 13th, he unexpectedly fell in with a party of one hundred French, and

fix

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six hundred Indians. A severe action was the consequence; in which both the Major and those under him did every thing that could be expected from good officers and soldiers, killing about one hundred and fifty of the enemy, and wounding as many more; though not without losing five of his officers, and about one hundred rank and file killed. The enemy, therefore, still retaining their superiority in point of strength, and leaving him, of course, but very little hopes of succeeding better in a second attack, he thought it prudent to retreat. Lieutenant Philips, and a few men, who had surrendered, in this affair, to the French Indians, in consequence of a promise of protection, were inhumanly tied up to trees, and cut to pieces.

We are now to return to Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst, whose operations were not only superior in importance, but prior in time, to those upon the continent. The former, as has been already observed, sailed, from Portsmouth, for Halifax in Nova-Scotia, where all the forces, both of sea and land, destined against Louisbourg, were to rendezvous. On the 16th of March, General Amherst embarked, at Portsmouth, on board the Dublin man of war, Captain Rodney; but, in consequence of contrary winds, did not reach Halifax till the 28th of May; when Admiral Boscawen, desirous of losing as little time as possible, was coming out of the harbour with his whole fleet, and all the land-forces which General Amherst was to command; the following troops having been left ashore for the safety of the place, under Major Morris of the 35th regiment.

The

LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

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The 43d regiment,	Kennedy's,	-	659	rank and file.	
Of the 35th,	-	-	Otway's,	- -	392
1st,	-	-	Royal,		
29th,	-	-	Hopson's,		
45th,	-	-	Warburton's,		
47th,	-	-	Lafcelles's,		
60th, 2d battalion,	Lawrence's,				104
78th,	-	-	Frazer's,	-	201
			Rank and file,		1460
			Officers, serjeants, and drums,		146
					1606
			Royal Artillery, officers included,		54
			Total,		1660

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The fleet consisted of the following ships:

SHIPS OF THE LINE.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
The Namur, -	90	{ Admiral Boscawen, commander in chief. Captain Buckle.
Royal William,	80	{ Admiral Sir Charles Hardy. Captain Evans.
Princess Amelia,	80	{ Commodore Philip Durell. Captain Bray.
Terrible, - -	74	Captain Collins.
Northumberland,	70	—— Rt. Hon. Lord Colville.
Vanguard, - -	70	—— Swanton.
Orford, - -	70	—— Spry.
Burford, - -	70	—— Gambier.
Somerfet, - -	70	—— Hughes.
Lancaster, - -	70	—— Hon. G. Edgcomb.

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Devonshire,

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Devonshire,	-	66	Captain Gordon.
Bedford,	- -	64	—— Fowke.
Captain,	-	64	—— Amherst.
Prince Frederick,		64	—— Man.
Pembroke,	-	60	—— Simcoe.
Kingston,	- -	60	—— Parry.
York,	- -	60	—— Pigot.
Prince of Orange,		60	—— Ferguson.
Defiance,	-	60	—— Baird.
Nottingham,	-	60	—— Marshall.
Centurion,	-	54	—— Mantell.
Sutherland,	-	50	—— Rous.

F R I G A T E S.

Juno,	Shannon,	Squirrel,
Gramont,	Kennington,	Hawk,
Nightingale,	Scarborough,	Trent,
Hunter,	Boreas,	Portmahon,
Diana,	Hind,	Beaver.

The *Ætna* and *Lightening*, fire-ships; and an armed vessel.

The following troops composed the army:

The 1st, or Royal Regiment.	The 48th, Webb's.
15th, Amherst's.	58th, Anstruther's.
17th, Forbes's.	60th, 2d batt. Monckton's.
22d, Whitmore's.	60th, 3d batt. Lawrence's.
28th, Bragg's.	78th, Fraser's.
40th, Hopson's.	Royal Artillery, 324.
35th, Otway's.	Rangers, 538.
45th, Warburton's.	Brigade of Engineers.
47th, Lafcelles's.	

General

General Amherst immediately went on board the Admiral's ship, when the command of the army was delivered up to him; and it was then formed into the following brigades:

First brigade. Brigadier-General Whitmore.

First regiment.

Fortieth, 3d battalion.

Sixtieth.

Forty-eighth.

Twenty-second.

Second brigade. Brigadier-General Lawrence.

Twenty-eighth.

Fifty-eighth.

Seventy-eighth.

Forty-fifth.

Fifteenth.

Third brigade. Brigadier-General Wolfe.

Seventeenth.

Forty-seventh, 2d battalion.

Sixtieth.

Thirty-fifth.

The above regiments made eleven thousand six hundred men, of which nine thousand nine hundred were fit for duty.

Colonel George Williamson commanded the artillery, and Colonel Bastide a brigade of engineers. Colonel Monckton was ordered on shore, to supersede Major Morris, and command in Nova-Scotia.

The Admiral continued his voyage to the place of his destination, and arrived off Cape Breton on the 2d of June, when

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the greatest part of the fleet came to an anchor in Gabarus bay. Here the General issued the following order:

“ As the General’s intentions are to surprize the French, as well as to attack them, he depends upon the care and vigilance of the officers commanding the transports, that his orders be strictly complied with. — The troops are to be in their boats by two o’clock exactly. No lights are to be shewn in any of the transports, except signals, after twelve o’clock at night. There must be a profound silence throughout the whole army; and, above all things, the firing of a single musket must be avoided. — The General is sufficiently convinced of the good disposition of the troops, by what he has already seen. — He desires they will not huzza, or make any noise at landing; but be attentive to the commands of their officers: by which they will avoid confusion, and will not fail of success. Their officers will lead them directly to the enemy.”

The weather rendered the execution of these orders impossible till the 8th of June, when, the sea being less turbulent than it had hitherto been since the arrival of the fleet, a successful attempt was made for that purpose. — But I cannot pretend to give my readers a better detail of this affair, and of the operations that immediately preceded and followed the landing of the troops, from the junction of the Admiral and General, to the surrender of Louisbourg, than what they themselves gave in their respective letters to the secretary of state; especially as that of the General was so much approved, that it produced commands to him to transmit the operations of any army he might again command, in the same kind of detail, as being
the

the best method of conveying a true and explicit idea of military operations. — The General's journal of this important affair is as follows:

" On the 28th of May, I had the good fortune to meet Admiral Boscawen, with the fleet and the troops, coming out of the harbour of Halifax.

" The 29th, we had fine weather; the ships kept well together; the whole consisted of one hundred and fifty-seven sail. The Dublin went very sickly into Halifax.

" The 30th, the wind blew hard in the afternoon: the ships were greatly dispersed.

" The 31st, the wind sometimes contrary, obliged us to tack; and it blew fresh.

" The 1st of June, Captain Rous, in the Sutherland, came from off the harbour of Louisbourg: he said, That two ships had got in on the 30th of May; and that there were thirteen sail in the harbour. We saw the entrance of Gabarus at night.

" The 2d, it was foggy in the morning; about twelve we saw Louisbourg and the ships in the harbour. The fleet, with about a third of the troops, anchored in Gabarus bay. This evening, with Brigadier-Generals Lawrence and Wolfe, I reconnoitred the shore as near as we could, and made a disposition for landing in three places, the next morning, in case that the troops should arrive.

" The enemy had a chain of posts from Cape Noir to the Flat Point; and some irregulars, from thence to the bottom of the bay; some works had been thrown up at the places which

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which appeared practicable to land at; and there were some batteries.

“ On the 3d, most of the transports arrived, and all prepared for landing; but the surf on the shore was so great, that this design was thereby rendered impossible. As one bay was found to have less surf than the others, a disposition was made to land, the next morning, in one place instead of three.

“ The 4th, the wind and surf was so high, that Admiral Boscawen said it was impracticable to land.

“ The 5th, a great swell and fog in the morning; and the Admiral still declared it impracticable to land.

“ The 6th, an appearance of a change of the weather; the signal was made to prepare to land; but the fog came on again, and the swell increased during the time the men were getting into the boats; and the Admiral again declared it impracticable to land. I ordered the troops on board their respective ships; first acquainting them with the reason for so doing.

“ The 7th, the weather was bad in the morning; in the afternoon, the swell rather decreased, and gave us great hopes of landing at day-break the next morning; for which orders were given; and Bragg's regiment, who were in a number of sloops, to sail under convoy, by the mouth of the harbour, to Lorembec; sending at the same time a proportion of artillery destined for the Light-house Point, with orders to make all the show they could of landing; but not to land till further orders, intending to draw the enemy's attention on that side.

“ From

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" From the 2d to this time, the enemy has been reinforcing their posts, adding to their works, cannonading and throwing shells at the ships, and making all the preparations they can to oppose our landing. Seven transports were now missing, with troops on board, three of which came in at night.

" On the 8th, the troops were assembled in the boats, before break of day, in three divisions; and Commodore Durell having viewed the coast, and given his opinion the troops might land, without danger from the surf, the Kennington and Halifax snow began the fire, on the left; followed by the Grammont, Diana, and Shannon frigates, in the center; and the Sutherland and Squirrel, upon the right. When the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats upon the left rowed in to the shore, under the command of Brigadier-General Wolfe, whose detachment was composed of the four eldest companies of grenadiers, followed by the light infantry (a corps of five hundred and fifty men, chosen as marksmen from the different regiments, commanded by Major Scott); and the companies of rangers, supported by the Highland regiment; and those, by the eight remaining companies of grenadiers.

" The division on the right, under the command of Brigadier-General Whitmore, consisted of the Royal, Lascelles's, Monckton's, Forbes's, Anstruther's, and Webb's; and rowed to our right, by the White-Point, as if intending to force a landing there.

" The center-division, under the command of Brigadier-General Lawrence, was formed of Amherst's, Hopson's, Otway's, Whitmore's, Lawrence's, and Warburton's; and made,

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at the same time, a show of landing at the Fresh-water Cove. This drew the enemy's attention to every part, and prevented their troops posted along the coasts from joining those on their right.

“ The enemy acted very wisely ; did not throw away a shot till the boats were near in shore, and then directed the whole fire of their cannon and musketry upon them. The surf was so great, that a place could hardly be found to get a boat on shore. Notwithstanding the fire of the enemy, and the violence of the surf, Brigadier Wolfe pursued his point, and landed just at the left of the Cove, took post, attacked the enemy, and forced them to retreat. Many boats overset, several broke to pieces, and all the men jumped into the water to get on shore.

“ As soon as the left division was landed, the first detachment of the center rowed to the left likewise, and followed ; then the remainder of the center-division, as fast as the boats could fetch them from the ships ; and the right division followed the center, in like manner.

“ It took up a great deal of time to land the troops ; the enemy's retreat, or rather flight, was through the roughest and worst ground I ever saw ; and the pursuit ended in a cannon-ading from the town, which was so far of use, that it pointed out how near I could encamp to invest it.

“ The loss of his Majesty's troops at landing, is, Captain Baillie and Lieutenant Cuthbert, of the Highland regiment, Lieutenant Nicholson of mine, four serjeants, one corporal, and thirty-eight men killed ; twenty-one were of my regiment,

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ment (the grenadiers), of which eight were shot, and the rest drowned in trying to get on shore; five lieutenants, two serjeants, one corporal, and fifty-one men were wounded; and, of the five companies of rangers, one ensign and three private men killed, one wounded, and one missing.

“ On the enemy’s side, two captains of grenadiers, and two lieutenants, are prisoners; one officer killed, and an Indian chief; several men killed; and, I imagine, about seventy men taken prisoners. They were sent on board as fast as possible. By some of the prisoners I had intelligence, that M. St. Julien commanded in the Cove; that there were five battalions in the town, namely, Bourgogne, Artois, Royal Marine, Cambise, and Volontaires Etrangers, with about seven hundred Canadians. The three first regiments wintered in Louisbourg; Volontaires Etrangers came there, not long since, with part of the fleet; and Cambise, the night before we landed.

“ We took from the enemy three twenty-four pounders, and seven six-pounders, two mortars, and fourteen swivels; all which were placed along the shore to prevent our landing; likewise some ammunition, some tools, and stores of all kinds.

“ The 9th, Lieutenant-General Bragg’s regiment returned, in their sloops, from Lorembec. The weather continued extremely bad, and the surf so great, that we could get only some of our tents on shore in the afternoon.

“ The 10th, the surf still continued, and it was with great difficulty that we got any thing on shore.

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“The 11th, the weather grew clear and better, and the light six-pounders only were now landed, and some artillery-stores with them.

“On the 12th, from the intelligence I had received, that the enemy had destroyed the grand battery, and called in their out-posts, I detached Brigadier Wolfe, with twelve hundred men, four companies of grenadiers, three companies of rangers, and some light infantry, round the north-east harbour, to the Light-house Point, with an intention to silence the island-battery, and, at the same time, to attempt to destroy the ships in the harbour; sending, likewise, by sea, the proportion of artillery, ammunition and tools, that had been ordered for this service.

“I received, this day, a report from Brigadier Wolfe, that he had taken possession of the Light-house Point, and all the posts on that side the harbour, which the enemy had abandoned, leaving several cannon, which were rendered useless, and a great quantity of fish at Lorembec. The weather continued extremely bad, but we got some tools on shore this night; so that, on the 13th, we began to make a communication from the right to the left, in front of the camp; and I ordered three redoubts on the most advantageous ground in the front. A party of the enemy came out, this day, towards our camp, but were soon beat back by the light infantry, before two picquets could well get up to their assistance. We worked at three redoubts in front all night.

“The 14th, the enemy cannonaded us great part of the day. The surf still continued so high, that it was with the greatest difficulty we could land any thing. The fleet under
the

the command of Sir Charles Hardy, which appeared yesterday for the first time, was, in the night, blown off to sea.

" The 15th, I sent four more mortars, in a sloop, to the Light-house; but we could not get any artillery landed on this shore. At night, two deserters from the *Volontaires Etrangers* came in, and said, they had five killed and forty wounded in the skirmish on the 13th.

" The 16th, the first fine weather, we landed twelve days provision, and got many things ashore; but could not yet land any artillery.

" The 17th, I got Colonel Bastide on horseback, and, with Colonel Williamson and Major Mackellar, we reconnoitred the whole ground, as far as we could; and Colonel Bastide was determined in his opinion of making approaches by the Green-hill, and of confining the destruction of the ships in the harbour to the Light-house Point, and the batteries on that side. I added two eight-inch mortars, and three royals, to the Light-house batteries.

" The 18th, we had fine weather. Some Indians took three of the transports men at the bottom of Gabarus bay, who landed there contrary to orders. The road for the artillery was pushed on as fast as possible. We got three twenty-four-pounders on shore, though the surf was great the beginning of the day.

" The 19th, the batteries of the Light-house were intended to have been opened this night; but could not be got ready so soon. *L'Echo*, a French frigate of thirty-two guns, was brought in to-day. She had got out of the harbour the 13th,

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at night, and was bound to Quebec. By her we have intelligence, that the Bizarre got out the day we landed, and the Comette, since our arrival off the harbour.

“ The 20th, the island battery and ships fired at the batteries on the shore, who began their fire this last night. The enemy burnt an old ship at the bottom of the harbour.

“ The 21st, very bad weather, and the surf high. The enemy discovered us making the road for the artillery, and cannonaded us; threw some shot into the left of the camp, but did not oblige me to decamp any part. An advanced redoubt, towards Greenhill, was thrown up this night.

“ The 22d, the bad weather continued; we were employed on the roads, and getting up a block-house on the left, by the miry road, to secure the communication to the north-east harbour and light-house, and to hinder any parties from going into the town.

“ The 23d, the Admiral assured me there were above one hundred boats lost in landing the troops and provisions. This day, fine weather; and we now have, on shore, twelve twenty-four pounders, and six six-pounders. The enemy fired a great deal from their shipping and island-battery; and they threw some shot into the left of the camp. Colonel Messervey, and most of his carpenters, taken ill of the small-pox, which is a very great loss to the army. Gabions and fascines are landed, and carried forward as fast as possible, to make an epaulment to Greenhill. The batteries at the Light-house fire with success against the island-battery, and, I hope, will silence it.

“ On

“ On the 24th, the enemy fired on the light-house batteries from the town and shipping; and, on our advanced redoubt, which was finished, they fired from the town. We had this day, in the park of artillery, thirteen twenty-four-pounders and seven twelve-pounders.

“ On the 25th, the cannonading continued night and day; in the evening, the island-battery was silenced: their own fire had helped to break down part of their works. Fascines and gabions were forwarded to Greenhill as fast as possible; all the men employed at work, and making the necessary communications. The enemy fired a good deal at our advanced redoubt.

“ On the 26th, a small alarm on the left, of a party that had advanced from the town, and got up to the Block-house, which was not quite finished. They had with them a barrel of pitch, to set it on fire. The guard on it was not sufficient to oppose a large party; but a detachment was sent out so quick, that they were forced to retreat without effecting their design, though two of the men had been in the Block-house; and they were drove back into the town very fast.

“ Three hundred pioneers ordered to Greenhill. Admiral Boscawen landed two hundred marines, and took the post at Kennington Cove, which is a great ease to the army. I desired of the Admiral four thirty-two-pounders, and two twenty-four-pounders, to leave at the Light-house, to keep the island-battery in ruin; that, with a proper number of men intrenched there, Brigadier Wolfe, with his detachment, might be able to come round the harbour, bringing his artillery with him, and to try to destroy the shipping, and to advance towards the west-gate.

“ On

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“ On the 27th, one brass twenty-four-pounder was lost in twelve-fathom water, by slipping off the catamaran, as they were coming from the ship to land it. The cannon I asked of the Admiral were, this night, landed at the Light-house.

“ On the 28th, many popping shots and cannonading. As the post at Greenhill was covered, we began the road over the bog, by throwing up an epaulment. Colonel Maffervey and his son both died this day; and, of his company of carpenters, of one hundred and eight men, all, but sixteen, who are nurses to the sick, are ill with the small-pox. This is particularly unlucky at this time.

“ On the 29th, cannonading continued; a frigate fired constantly at the epaulment. We persevered in working at the road, which cost a great deal of labour. At night, the enemy sunk four ships in the harbour's mouth: the Apollo, with two decks; La Fidelle, of thirty-six guns; La Chevre and La Biche, of sixteen guns each; and they cut off most of their masts. Remain in the harbour, five of the line of battle, and a frigate of thirty-six guns.

“ The 30th, at night, some firing at Kennington Cove; the marines thought they saw Indians. The frigate fired all night at the epaulment, as the men worked in the night-time.

“ The 1st of July, the enemy crept out, in the morning, to get some old palisades and wood. Brigadier Wolfe, and Major Scot's light infantry, pushed them in with a very brisk fire; and the Brigadier took post on the hills, from whence it was intended to try to demolish the shipping: we marched forward on the right; forced the enemy back to Cape Noir, with a smart fire.

“ The

" The 2d, the epaulment and road went on heavily, from the extreme badness of the ground. The enemy continued their cannonading, and threw some shells; we skirmished all day with parties out of the town.

" The 3d, a great cannonading from the town and shipping, on the batteries. Brigadier Wolfe was making an advanced work on the right, thrown up at six hundred and fifty yards from the covered way, with an intention of erecting a battery to destroy the defences of the place, as the falling of the ground, from this place, towards the works, would hinder our discovering as much of the works as would be necessary to do them any considerable damage. In the evening, the sea-officers imagined, that some of the ships would try to get out of the harbour. The batteries on the left immediately played on them; but it grew so dark, they could not continue.

" The 4th, a great fog: when there were glares of light, the cannonading began. Five hundred men were kept continually making of fascines.

" The 5th, very bad weather. The epaulment was hastened on as much as possible; it swallowed up an immense number of fascines, and cost some men, as the frigate cannonaded it without ceasing.

" The 6th, a sloop sailed out of the harbour, with a flag of truce, to Sir Charles Hardy, to carry some things to their wounded officers and prisoners.

" The many difficulties of landing every thing in almost a continual surf, making of roads, draining and passing of bogs,

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bogs, and putting ourselves under cover, render our approach to the place much longer than I could wish.

“ On the 7th, we had very foggy weather ; the cannonading continued all day, with many popping shots, from the advanced posts.

“ The 8th, I intended an attack on some advanced posts at Cape Noir ; but it did not take place. Colonel Bastide got a contusion by a musket-ball on his boot, which laid him up in the gout.

“ The 9th, in the night, the enemy made a sally, where Brigadier Lawrence commanded ; they came from Cape Noir, and, though drunk, I am afraid they rather surpris'd a company of grenadiers of Forbes's, commanded by Lord Dundonald, who were posted in a small work on the right. Major Murray, who commanded three companies of grenadiers, immediately detached one, and drove the enemy back very easily. Whitmore's and Bragg's grenadiers behaved very well on this occasion ; Lord Dundonald was killed ; Lieutenant Tew wounded, and taken prisoner ; Captain Bontein, of the engineers, taken prisoner ; and one corporal, and three men were killed ; one serjeant and eleven men are missing ; and seventeen men wounded. The sally was of five picquets, supported by six hundred men. A Captain, Chevalier de Chauvelin, was killed ; a lieutenant wounded, and taken prisoner ; seventeen men killed ; four wounded, and brought off prisoners ; besides what wounded they carried into the town, one of whom, a captain, died immediately. The enemy sent out a flag of truce to bury their dead ; which when over, the cannonading began again. The frigate was so hurt, she hauled close to the town ; the ships fired very much against Brigadier Wolfe's batteries.

“ The

" The 10th, the road, at the epaulment, went on a little better.

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" The 11th, a waggoner was taken off by some Indians, between the Block-house and the left of the north-east harbour.

" The 12th, it rained very hard all night; we made an advanced work to Greenhill; at night, the waggoner, who had been taken, luckily made his escape, and said, they were two hundred and fifty Canadians. The citadel bastion fired very smartly.

" The 13th, the enemy threw a great many shells; we perfected our works, as fast as we could; bad rainy weather; the enemy was at work at Cape Noir to hinder our taking post near that point, which is of no consequence; some deserters came in, and said a sloop from Miray got in, three days ago.

" The 14th, the batteries were traced out, last night, with an intention to place twenty twenty-four pounders, divided into four different batteries, to destroy the defences; and a battery of seven mortars, with some twelve-pounders to ricochet the works and the town.

" The 15th, the cannonading and firing continued; the enemy tried to throw some shells into our camp, supposed to be intended against our powder magazine; at ten at night, the light-house battery fired some rockets, as a signal of ships failing out of the harbour. Sir Charles Hardy answered it; a frigate got out, and Sir Charles Hardy's fleet got under sail and went to sea. Before day-break, Captain Sutherland, posted at the end of the north-east harbour, was attacked, and there was a great deal of firing; the grenadiers of Brigadier

S

Wolfe's

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Wolfe's corps marched to sustain him, and all the light infantry; it was over before they could arrive, and, by a deserter from the enemy, they were only one hundred men, come from Miray, where they left Monsieur de Bois-Hibert, who had, on their side of the water, three hundred men with boats ready to pass. Major Scott, with the light infantry, pursued; but could not get up with them. I encamped a corps forward.

"The 16th, towards night, Brigadier Wolfe took possession of the hills in the front of the Barasoy, where we made a lodgment; the enemy fired very briskly from the town and shipping.

"The 17th, we resolved to extend the parallel from the right to the left. The fleet returned.

"The 18th, all last night, the enemy fired musketry from the covert-way; and tried to throw shells into the camp.

"The 19th, I relieved the trenches by battalions, the fourteen battalions forming three brigades; a smart fire from the covert-way; the batteries, on the left, fired against the bastion Dauphine, with great success.

"The 21st, one of the ships in the harbour had some powder blown up in her, made a great explosion, and set the ship on fire, which soon caught the sails of two more; they burned very fast, and we kept firing on them, the whole time, to hinder the boats and people from the town to get to their assistance; the *Entreprenant*, *Capricieux*, and *Celebre*, were the three burned ships; the *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant* remained.

"The

" The 22d, two batteries, on the right, opened with thirteen twenty-four pounders, and another of seven mortars; and fired, with great success; the enemy fired very smart from the town, for some time; and threw their shells into our works. Our shells put the citadel in flames. I ordered Colonel Williamson to confine his fire, as much as he could, to the defences of the place, that we might not destroy the houses. A lieutenant of the Royal Americans, going his rounds on an advanced post, lost his way, and was taken prisoner near Cape Noir. A battery was begun, on the left, for four twenty-four pounders.

" The 23d, the cohorns we used at night, and the French mortars were sent to throw stones from the trenches. The enemy fired all sorts of old iron, and any stuff they could pick up. Colonel Bastide was out to-day, for the first time, since he received his contusion. Our batteries fired with great success. This night, the shells set fire to the barracks, and they burnt with great violence.

" On the 24th, the fire was very brisk on our side; and the enemy's decreased. The Admiral gave me four hundred seamen to help us to work at the batteries, and two hundred miners were added to a corps of a hundred already established, that we might make quick work of it; and they were immediately employed. The four gun battery opened, and another of five erecting. One of the men of war in the harbour, the Bienfaissant, fired at our trenches, at high-water; and the citadel, and Bastion Dauphine, fired against the four gun battery; but our men, firing small arms into the embrasures, beat the enemy off their guns.

" The 25th, the batteries fired, with great success. The Admiral sent me word, he intended to send in boats, with six

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hundred men, to take or destroy the Prudent and the Bienfaisant, in the harbour. I ordered all the batteries at night to fire into the works, as much as possible, to keep the enemy's attention to the land. The miners and workmen went on very well, with their approaches to the covered way, though they had a continued and very smart fire from it; and grape-shot, and all sorts of old iron from the guns of the ramparts. We continued our fire, without ceasing, and en ricochet. The boats got to the ships at one in the morning, and took them both: They were obliged to burn the Prudent of seventy-four guns, as she was a-ground; and they towed off the Bienfaisant of sixty-four, to the north-east harbour.

“ The 26th, the Admiral came on shore; and told me he proposed to send six ships into the harbour the next day. Just at this time, I received a letter from the Governor, offering to capitulate, and the following articles were agreed upon. The troops remained in the trenches, this night, as usual.

Articles of Capitulation between their Excellencies Admiral Boscawen and Major-General Amherst, and his Excellency the Chevalier Droucour, Governor of the Island of Cape Breton, of Louisbourg, the Island of St. John, and their appurtenances.

ARTICLE I. The garrison of Louisbourg shall be prisoners of war, and shall be carried to England in the ships of his Britannic Majesty.

II. All the artillery, ammunition, provisions, as well as the arms of any kind whatsoever, which are at present in the town of Louisbourg, the Islands of Cape Breton, and St. John, and their appurtenances, shall be delivered, without the least damage, to such Commissaries as shall be appointed to receive them, for the use of his Britannic Majesty.

III. The

III. The Governor shall give his orders that the troops which are in the Island of St. John, and its appurtenances, shall go on board such ship of war, as the Admiral shall send to receive them.

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IV. The gate, called Port Dauphine, shall be given up to the troops of his Britannic Majesty, to-morrow at eight o'clock in the morning, and the garrison, including all those that carried arms, drawn up at noon, on the esplanade, where they shall lay down their arms, colours, implements, and ornaments of war. And the garrison shall go on board, in order to be carried to England, in a convenient time.

V. The same care shall be taken of the sick and wounded that are in the hospitals, as of those belonging to his Britannic Majesty.

VI. The Merchants and their Clerks, that have not carried arms, shall be sent to France, in such manner as the Admiral shall think proper.

(Signed)

Le Chevalier de DRUCOUR.

Louisbourg,

EDWARD BOSCAWEN.

26th July, 1758.

JEFFERY AMHERST.

This account was too full to leave Mr. Boscawen much to say; accordingly, his letter to Mr. Pitt, on this occasion, dated on board the *Namur*, Gabarus Bay, the 28th of July 1758, was comprized in the few following words:

“ I will not trouble you with a particular detail of the landing and siege, but cannot help mentioning a particular gallant action, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth instant. The boats of the squadron were, in two divisions,

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detached, under the command of Captains Laforey and Bal-four, to endeavour either to take or burn the *Prudente* of seventy-four guns, and the *Bienfaisant* of sixty-four, the only remaining French ships in the harbour; in which they succeeded so well as to burn the former, she being a-ground, and take the latter, and tow her into the north-east harbour, notwithstanding they were exposed to the fire of the cannon and musketry of the island-battery, Point-Rochfort, and the town, being favoured with a dark night. Our loss was inconsiderable; seven men killed, and nine wounded."

On the 27th of July, three companies of grenadiers, commanded by Major Farquhar, took possession of the town; when the garrison consisted of

Twenty-four companies, being the usual garrison, and			
two companies of the artillery,	-	-	1017
Second battalion, <i>Volontaires Etrangers</i> ,	-	-	526
Second ditto, <i>Artois</i> ,	-	-	466
Second ditto, <i>Bourgogne</i> ,	-	-	414
Second ditto, <i>Cambise</i> ,	-	-	608
		In all,	3031

To which if we add

The sea-officers, sailors, and marines,	-	-	2606
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The total of prisoners will be, 5637

In this memorable siege, twenty-one commissioned and non-commissioned officers, one hundred and forty-six private men, one gunner, and three matrosses, were killed, on the part of the besiegers; and thirty commissioned and non-commissioned officers, three hundred and fifteen private men, one corporal, one gunner, and three matrosses, were wounded.

The

The French troops had about three hundred and fifty killed and wounded.

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And the fleet of that nation suffered, in this siege, a considerable diminution, by the loss of *Le Prudent* and *L'Entrepreneur*, of seventy-four guns each; *Le Capricieux*, *Le Célèbre*, and *Bienfaissant*, of sixty-four each; *Apollo*, fifty; *Le Chevre*, *Biche*, and *Fidelle*, frigates; the *Diana*, taken by the *Boreas*; and the *Echo*, by the *Juno*.

On the 30th of July, the *Shannon* frigate, commanded by the Honourable Captain *Edgecumb*, who was charged with the Admiral's dispatches, and carrying Captain *Amherst*, with those of the General, sailed for England. These gentlemen took with them the colours of *Louisbourg*, and of the troops. These trophies, after having been presented to the King of Great Britain by Captain *Amherst*, were deposited, with great pomp, in the cathedral church of *St. Paul's*, London, to perpetuate the glory of the British arms, by this conquest restored to their former lustre.

It must appear, by the foregoing journal of General *Amherst*, that there was scarce a difficulty, which accident or industry could create, that did not present itself to obstruct his operations. Yet, whilst we admire the intrepidity that forced a landing, when the violence of the surf almost baffled the power of art, we must not conceal the share which fortune had in the execution of so dangerous an enterprize. Even the resolution of Brigadier *Wolfe* was staggered, when he viewed the breaking surge; and, supposing a landing at that time impracticable, he made a signal with his hat to retire. But, it being mistaken for a signal to advance, the boats in which were

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Lieutenants Hopkins and Browne, and Ensign Grant, pushed on shore. These, with their men, climbed up some rocks, and formed. This being observed by Mr. Wolfe, he advanced his brigade, and landed, in the face of an infernal fire. In the mean time, the party that was on shore crept unseen on the flank of the enemy, who, being ignorant of their numbers, immediately quitted their intrenchments, and fled. Animated by the example of Mr. Wolfe, those boats nearest to him pushed for the shore, and the men leaped into the sea to gain the land; but many of them were drowned in the attempt.

No opposition, it seems, could check the animating spirit raised by the ardent desire of regaining credit, and of expunging the foul blot with which the miscarriages of successive years had stained the British colours. The vigilance, resolution, and other military virtues, of the two commanders in this enterprize, and, perhaps still more, the perfect harmony that reigned between them, gained the confidence of all the forces under their command; and every officer exerted his utmost abilities, in token of this confidence; particularly Brigadier Wolfe, whose martial ardour made him ever ready to execute the boldest plans of his General; yet, with a circumspection and skill, which justly procured him the affection and esteem of the whole army.

The alertness of the gentlemen of the navy to assist in forwarding the operations of the army must not be forgotten. And the attack on the French men of war, the *Bienfaisant* and the *Prudent*, by Captains Laforey and Balfour, will ever remain an honourable testimony of their bravery, as it gained them such immediate encomiums from their Admiral.

In

In this campaign, we see the genius of Britain roused; the glory of her arms bursting forth from that cloud of disgrace, by which it had, for so many years past, been obscured; and the perseverance, prudence, and spirit of her sons, getting the better of an almost confirmed habit of levity, mismanagement, and timidity; fulfilling the commands of a gracious sovereign, and executing the plans of an enterprising minister.

But, whilst we are thus lavish of our praise on the conquering army, our impartiality will not suffer us to overlook the good conduct and bravery of the besieged. As to the landing of the English, it must have been effected by sacrificing lives in one part or another; it being impossible to guard such an extent of coast with about three thousand men, and yet leave a sufficient number for duty in the town. The French occupied above two leagues and an half of ground in the most accessible parts: but there were some intermediate places they could not guard; and it was precisely in one of these that the English took post.

The French employed every method to retard and destroy the works of the besiegers, both by the fire of the place, and that of the ships in the harbour. The Commodore of those ships warmly solicited for leave to quit the place; but M. de Drucour, knowing the importance of their stay to its safety, would not permit them to depart. It was his business to defer the determination of his fate as long as possible. The accounts he received from Canada assured him, that M. de Montcalm was marching to the enemy, and would come up with them, between the 20th and 25th of July. If the ships had left the harbour, as the Commodore desired, on the 10th

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of June, the English Admiral would have entered it immediately after, and the place might have been lost before the expiration of the month; and this would have put it in the power of the English General to employ the months of July and August in sending succours to the troops marching against Canada, and to enter the river St. Lawrence at the proper season. This object alone seemed to M. de Drucour of sufficient importance to require a council of war, who agreed with him in opinion. The situation of the ships was no less critical than that of the town. Four of them were burnt, and the casemates were destroyed, by the bombs of the English. At length, no French ships being left, and the place being open in different parts of the King's, the Dauphin's, and the Queen's bastions, the Governor still did all that an officer in his situation could do:—He called a council of war; and yielded to its advice to ask a capitulation.

M. de Drucour proposed much the same terms as were granted at Minorca; and the English General's reply to his proposal, was to the following purport:

“ In answer to the proposal I have just now had the honour to receive from your Excellency, by the Sieur Loppinot, I have only to tell your Excellency, That it hath been determined by Admiral Boscawen and myself, that his ships shall go in to-morrow, to make a general attack upon the town. Your Excellency knows very well the situation of the army and the fleet: and, as the Admiral, as well as myself, is very desirous to prevent the effusion of blood, we give your Excellency one hour, after receiving this, to determine, either to capitulate as prisoners of war, or to

take upon you all the bad consequences of a defence against this fleet and army.

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E. BOSCAWEN.

JEFF. AMHERST."

M. de Drucour answered the above letter, in the following terms:

" To answer your Excellencies in as few words as possible, I have the honour to repeat to you, That my resolution is still the same; and that I will suffer the consequences, and sustain the attack you speak of.

Le Chevalier DE DRUCOUR."

Immediately after this letter was dispatched, M. Prevot, Commissary-General, and Intendant of the colony, brought M. de Drucour a petition from the traders and inhabitants, which determined him to submit to the law of superior force; a submission, in his situation, inevitable. Before this, for eight days together, his officers had not, any more than the private men, one moment's rest. Indeed, they had no place in which they could take any; nor did there remain any place of safety, even for the wounded: so that they were almost as much exposed, every minute of the four and twenty hours, as if they had been on the covered-way. Nevertheless, the men did not murmur in the least, nor discover the smallest discontent; which was owing to the good example and exact discipline of their officers. None deserted but Germans; one of whom prevented an intended sally: for, as he had gone over to the English two hours before it was to have been put in execution, it was not thought prudent to hazard it. The burning

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of the ships, and of the casemates of the King's and Queen's bastions, hindered another. A third had no better success: the French proceeded no farther than the glacis of the covered-way. So that, of four sallies that were intended, one only succeeded; in which, thirty grenadiers and two officers were made prisoners.

No resources could be had by intrenchments in the gorges of the bastions; nor were the French provided with the necessary implements for such operations. And, of fifty-two pieces of cannon, which were opposed to the batteries of the besiegers, forty were dismounted, broken, or rendered unserviceable. In such circumstances, therefore, it was impossible for the French to make any further resistance; and, of course, it was no way blameable in them to surrender prisoners of war.

We must now resume our narrative of the operations of the English forces.

On the 7th of August, a detachment, commanded by Major Dalling, was ordered to Espagnolle, to take possession, agreeable to the capitulation, of the appurtenances of Louisbourg; and another, under Lord Rollo, on the same errand, to the island of St. John; the inhabitants of which, amounting to about four thousand souls, immediately on his arrival, brought in their arms. This place had been, ever since the commencement of the war, a thorn in the sides of the inhabitants of Nova-Scotia; at the same time that, from its fertility in corn and cattle, it contributed not a little to the support of the inhabitants of Canada, whom it greatly imported the English to distress; since, as long as that country remained in

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the hands of the French, they could not rely upon any permanent tranquillity in North-America. For this reason, Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst, having resolved to reap every advantage they possibly could from the conquest of Cape Breton, as soon as the transports could sail with the French prisoners to Europe, which was not till the 15th, Sir Charles Hardy, with seven ships of the line and three frigates; and Brigadier Wolfe, with the fifteenth regiment, Amherst's, the twenty-eighth, Bragg's; and the fifty-eighth, Anstruther's; a detachment of artillery, two engineers, two light six-pounders, two eight-inch mortars, five royals, six cohorns, and every kind of stores in proportion; were ordered to sail for the gulf of St. Lawrence, and as far up the river of the same name as the season would permit, with instructions to destroy all the French settlements in both bay and river, with their ships and boats, especially on the south side; and, in particular, those of Miramichi, Baye de Chaleurs, and Gaspée; and disperse or carry off the inhabitants. None of these places were of any great force; but those we have particularly mentioned were well inhabited; and the inhabitants of all, by being seated immediately on the back of Nova-Scotia, afforded shelter to a set of renegadoes, who, by just marching over the head of St. John's river, and so to the bay of Fundy, had it always in their power to infest the English settlements in that peninsula; and, accordingly, never let slip any opportunity to do it. Another advantage expected from this expedition, was the alarming of the French at Quebec, and thereby effectually preventing their sending any fresh succours, as they might otherwise do, to their countrymen employed against General Abercromby. Sir Charles Hardy and Brigadier Wolfe sailed, on this service, on the 28th of August; and, two days after, the thirty-fifth

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fifth regiment, the second battalion of the Royal Americans, and three hundred and fifty rangers, to be commanded by Colonel Monckton, were sent up the bay of Fundy to destroy the French settlements on the river St. John, clear the country of its inhabitants, take and keep possession of St. Anne's, and, in short, penetrate as far up the river as they conveniently could, to annoy the enemy. In these two expeditions, as the several officers commanding them behaved with their usual bravery and conduct, and were properly seconded by the officers and men under them, so they met with adequate success. When the above service was finished, Brigadier Wolfe was ordered to send to Louisbourg the twenty-eighth regiment, Bragg's, which it was intended should make part of that garrison; call back to their regiments the sick and wounded of the fifteenth, Amherst's, and the fifty-eighth, Anstruther's, that had been left there; and then, with these two regiments, proceed to Halifax, and take on him the command of the troops there, till he should receive further orders.

The Admiral and General having, as soon as they had sent off the troops for these expeditions, again deliberated on their instructions, and on the present state of affairs in North-America, were of opinion, that the measures which had been pursued since the reduction of Louisbourg, for annoying the enemy's settlements as long as the season would permit, was all that, with prudence, could be attempted in that part; and having, at length, received undoubted assurance, that the attack on Ticonderoga had miscarried, with such an heavy loss as obliged the troops to retreat, they did not hesitate a single moment in coming to the resolution of sending five battalions, (which were the remains of the army, after garrisoning Louis-

Louisbourg, Nova-Scotia, and their dependencies), as a reinforcement to General Abercromby's army. For, though their instructions did not extend to any part of the continent beyond Nova-Scotia, they wisely judged themselves authorised to bestow their attention and assistance wherever the interest of their country required it, and it could be afforded without deviating from their instructions. In order, therefore, to lose as little time as possible in doing this important service, and that it might be done as effectually as possible, General Amherst, in person, took on himself the command of the second battalion of the Royal, the seventeenth, forty-seventh, forty-eighth, and seventy-eighth regiments; and sailed with them, on the 30th of August, for Boston, where he arrived the 13th of September. The next day he landed, and encamped his troops. Then, considering that the accidents attending the passage, by sea, to New-York, might frustrate his intentions to join General Abercromby as soon as he could wish, he determined to march to Albany, through the Green-wood; and demanded of the magistrates of Boston guides to conduct him; but, instead of guides, the select men sent him a deputation to assure him, that his design was impracticable, there being no road through the wood, and that it was impossible to make one. Not content with this bare assertion, many of them, in hopes of diverting the General from his purpose, voluntarily made affidavits to confirm what had been advanced by the whole. However, from the information of many people, whom the General himself took the trouble to examine, the passage was so far from being found impracticable, that there did not appear any great difficulties to effect it. He likewise discovered the reasons why the magistracy were so averse to his attempting it. If the General could conduct an army:

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army through the Green-wood to the enemy, they concluded, the enemy might as easily bring an army against themselves, by the same rout; and, in case they should prove successful, would perhaps do it, instead of proceeding immediately to New-York. But these were not sufficient reasons, in the opinion of the General, to make him alter his resolution. He therefore decamped, and began his march. On the 2d of October, about thirty-five miles east of Albany, he left the troops under the command of Colonel Burton, with orders to continue his rout, the next day, to Kinderhook-mills; and so, through Albany, to Lake George; whilst himself proceeded to General Abercromby's camp, which he reached on the 5th, and found as secure as intrenchments could make it. Having conferred with General Abercromby, and put the regiments he had brought with him under his command, he returned to Albany on the 8th, and from thence immediately proceeded to Halifax; where, by his instructions, he was ordered to remain, after the reduction of Louisbourg, for farther orders.

We are now to relate the operations of the armies on the continent, intended for the execution of the plans against Ticonderoga and Fort du-Quefne, and which were to rendezvous at Albany and Philadelphia. The first was commanded by General Abercromby; and consisted of

The Twenty-seventh regiment

Forty-second

Forty-fourth

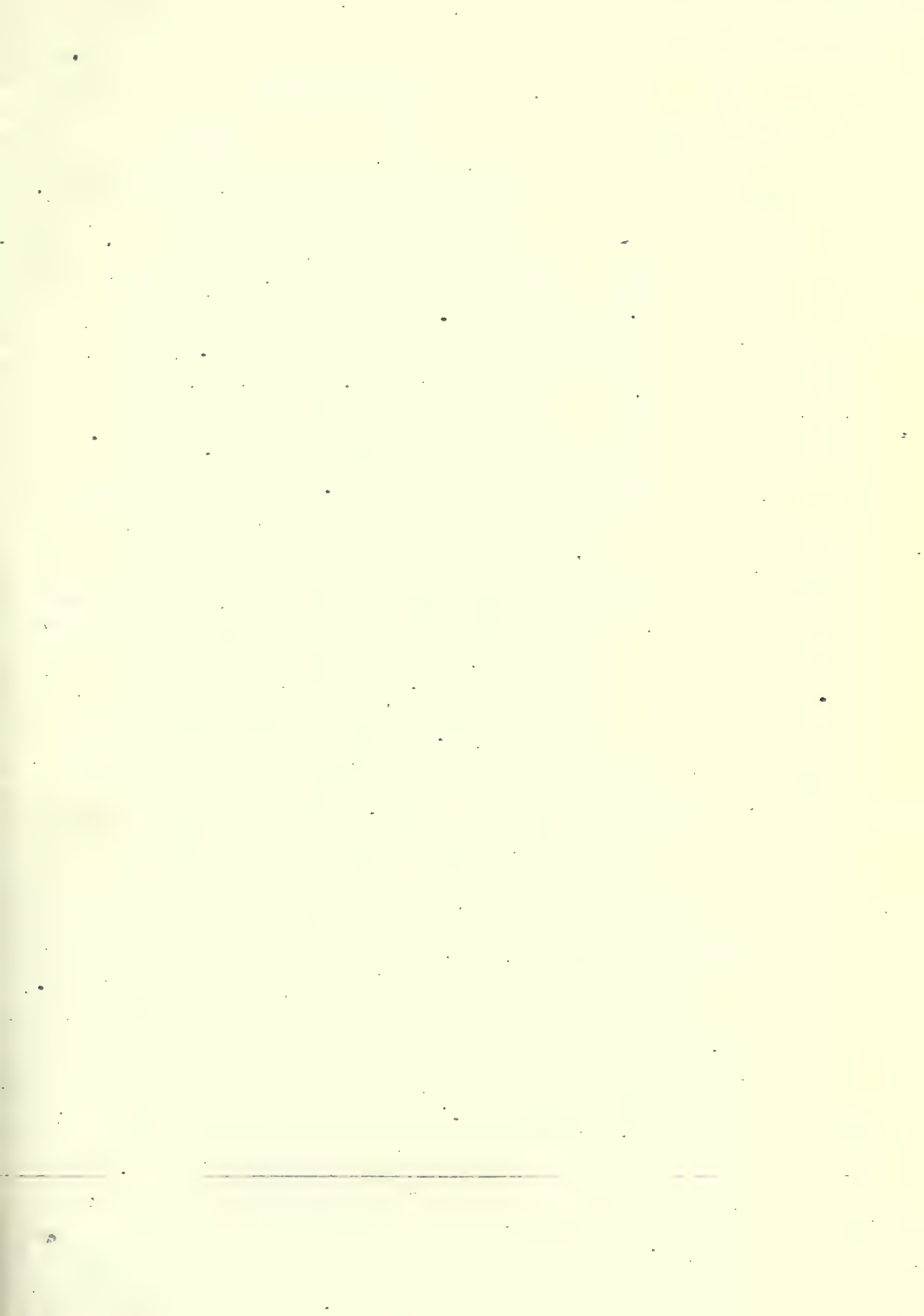
Forty-sixth

Fifty-fifth

First battalion of the Royal Americans

And a detachment of the Royal Artillery,

making



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making about six thousand three hundred and sixty-seven of the King's troops, and nine thousand and twenty-four provincials, boatmen included; amounting, in the whole, to fifteen thousand three hundred and ninety-one men. These were conducted to the spot on which formerly stood Fort William-Henry, and encamped there the latter end of June. But the cannon, ammunition, and other stores, being all arrived by the 5th of July, the troops embarked, in the morning of that day, in nine hundred boats, and one hundred and thirty-five whale-boats; attended by a proper number of cannon mounted on rafts, to cover the landing, if necessary. In the evening, the General, at first, ordered the forces to lie-to, at a place called *Sabbath-day Point*, a few miles from which lay an advanced guard of the French; and then to land, and make several large fires, in order to engage the attention of the enemy to that spot; hoping thereby to divide their force in such a manner as would weaken their opposition at another place, where he really intended to disembark, after another motion by water. About eleven at night, his Excellency ordered the troops to reembark, and proceed to the Narrows, where they arrived about five the next morning. An advanced guard of five hundred boatmen, Major Rogers with eight hundred rangers, and Gage's light infantry, the whole commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet, were then ordered on shore, to discover if any of the enemy were posted there to oppose a landing. Colonel Bradstreet finding there was nothing to hinder it, the whole of the army advanced and landed. Being then formed into four columns, and ordered to march, they soon came to an encampment that had been occupied by the advanced guard of the enemy, consisting of three picquets of the regiment of Guienne, and de-

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ferted by them on the approach of the English; but not till they had destroyed their ammunition and provisions, and set fire to their camp.

Ticonderoga, the place General Abercromby intended to attack, was a fort erected on a peninsula, with every advantage to resist an enemy; the only side that could be attacked by land, being chiefly a swamp; and where that failed, art supplied the place of nature. The wood being very thick, and impassable, with any regularity, to such a body of men, and the guides unskilful, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broke, falling in one upon another. During this disorder, Lord Howe, at the head of the right center-column, supported by the light infantry, fell in with about five hundred French, who had likewise lost themselves in the woods. The action was maintained with great bravery on both sides; nor did the enemy give way, till they had near three hundred killed, and one hundred and forty-eight taken prisoners; the killed and wounded on the side of the English did not exceed forty. But this advantage was too inconsiderable to counterbalance the loss of Lord Howe, who, almost at the beginning of the action, received a musket-ball in the breast, of which he instantly expired. The want of guides in a country so circumstanced as to render the regular motion even of a small party extremely difficult, must greatly embarrass that of a large army. Accordingly, the total ignorance of the ground on which this skirmish happened, together with the early death of Lord Howe, caused such confusion amongst the English, that the whole benefit of this little success was confined to that of occupying the ground on which it was obtained, the night after.

In Lord Howe, the soul of General Abercromby's army seemed to expire. His enterprising spirit infused a noble ardour into every rank; and his activity was such as created an emulation amongst the soldiers, that testified the highest opinion of his good example. From the unhappy moment the General was deprived of his advice, neither order nor discipline was observed in the army; and a strange kind of infatuation usurped the place of resolution, to such a degree, that, on the 7th, the whole army was ordered to return to the place where they had landed, except the forty-fourth regiment, six companies of the Royal Americans, a party of rangers, and some boatmen, making in the whole about seven thousand men, under the command of Colonel Bradstreet. These were detached to attack a post occupied by the French, called the *Saw-mills*. At his approach, the French destroyed a bridge, by which alone he could come at them. But Colonel Bradstreet soon laid another; and the whole army advanced that very night, and took post on this spot. The General, having occupied every advantageous eminence in the neighbourhood, ordered Mr. Clark, the chief engineer, to examine the enemy's strength, by which some judgment might be formed of the opposition reasonably to be expected. Upon this, the engineers, with some principal officers of the army, endeavoured to get sufficient information, by which their future operations might be directed to the best advantage. But all they could discover, with any certainty, was, that there was a breast-work, without being able to ascertain the nature of it. So various were the opinions of those whose duty it was exactly to inform themselves of these particulars: some reported it a well-finished work; whilst others, and amongst them the chief engineer, treated it as a flimsy construction, strong in appearance only. The General, unfortunately, adopted the last opinion, and therefore determined

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to attack the enemy that very morning, by assault; especially, as he had received intelligence of M. de Levi's being on his march from an excursion on the Mohawk-River, with a body of three thousand men, to join those already at Ticonderoga; for the General concluded it would be much easier to force a garrison of six, than one of nine thousand men. He judged rightly; but the reports, on which he formed his judgment, had been greatly exaggerated; M. de Levi's force did not exceed eight hundred, which were now arrived; and the garrison, under M. de Montcalm, was considerably short of three thousand. These consisted of the regiments of La Reine, La Sarre, Bearn, Guienne, Bury, Languedoc, and Royal Roussillon. In the defence of the lines, M. de Montcalm commanded in the center, M. de Levi on the right, and M. de Bourlemaque on the left.

Whilst preparations were making for the assault, Sir William Johnson joined the army, with four hundred and forty Indians. Early in the morning, the troops began to form for the attack, in the following order: On the left, the rangers; in the center, the batteau-men; and on the right, the light infantry; and posted themselves in a line out of the reach of cannon-shot; their right extending towards Lake-George; and their left towards Lake-Champlain; in the rear of these a line of provincials was formed, and the regular troops, which were to make the first assault on the intrenchments, were drawn up behind these: the Connecticut and Jersey regiments composing a rear-guard to the whole.

The troops, being thus disposed, received strict orders, that no one should presume to fire, till he was within the breast-work; a party of the enemy advanced beyond the breast-work, and fired on the rangers, but, indeed, without doing any execution; or being permitted to continue long enough with-

out

out the breast-work, to fire a second time. At length, about one, in the afternoon, the regulars advanced, with the greatest intrepidity, to storm the breast-work, which they now, when it was too late to retreat, found well covered with felled trees, extending one hundred yards in front, with the branches pointing outwards, and strengthened with logs, stumps of trees, and every other kind of rubbish they could collect, that was fit for the purpose. But, in spite of all these obstacles, and the great irregularity with which the troops were obliged to make their approach, on account of the rubbish that lay in their way, such was their ardour, that many of the officers, got to the breast-work itself, and were killed in attempting to scale it; another body who kept advancing, but had lost their line of march, perceiving a fire in their front, and supposing it to be the enemy's, fired on their own people. This mistake created irretrievable confusion, and the troops retired in the utmost disorder, no person appearing to take on him the command; their disorderly retreat soon degenerating into a precipitate flight, they continued it till they arrived at the Saw-mills, where a rally at length took place. But it was scarcely effected, when an unexpected order from General Abercromby to march to the landing place, renewed the panic, to such a degree, the soldiers thinking it was to reembark in consequence of their being pursued by a victorious enemy, that, had it not been for the extraordinary alertness of Colonel Bradstreet, in preventing the soldiers from entering the boats, the greatest part must have perished. This prudent behaviour of the Colonel's having afforded the General time to restore a little order, the troops kept their ground that night. On the ninth, they were ordered to embark; and retired to Fort-William-Henry. In this unhappy attempt, the English had

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four hundred and sixty-four regulars killed ; eleven hundred and seventeen wounded ; and twenty-nine missing ; and of the Provincials, eighty-seven killed ; two hundred and thirty-nine wounded ; and eight missing. The loss of the enemy was twelve officers, and about one hundred soldiers killed on the spot ; and twenty-five officers, and about two hundred and fifty soldiers wounded ; but their wounds being chiefly in the head, in consequence of their bodies being so well defended, very few of them recovered.

Although enough cannot be said in commendation of the bravery of the English troops in this ill concerted attack ; yet the defence of the French must be considered as deserving, in every respect, the approbation of their enemies. Though their master thanked them very formally for their resolution and perseverance, it must be acknowledged that he did not confer on them any greater marks of esteem and gratitude than they deserved. Accordingly, it may be safely affirmed, that during the whole contest in America, there happened no affair, which afforded the commanding officer of the English troops, so fine an opportunity of displaying his military talents, and exerting his authority in a manner to command success. But, through want of proper information, such an undigested attack was, at once, resolved upon, as nothing but a notorious degree of timidity in the enemy could justify. The notion that the breast-work itself was very feeble, must, indeed, be allowed an inducement ; but, even in that case, covered as it was by the felled trees, and other rubbish, it must for some time have stood the shock of cannon. But the breast-work itself was eight feet thick, on both flanks, it was in a manner defenceless ; and M. de Montcalm, conscious of this circumstance, had given orders, that when the English should appear

on

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on either of these weak parts, the troops should immediately retreat to the boats prepared to receive them, and likewise abandon the fort. When the English retreated, he had not the least doubt of their returning to the charge, till the next day, that M. de Levi, with a reconnoitring party, discovered their having repassed the lake. If he had been informed of the confusion that prevailed amongst them and pursued them, he might, even with his inferior numbers, have given them a severe blow. For, when the disorder amongst the English troops began to encrease to such a degree as to require the personal appearance of a commander in chief to restrain it effectually, the general, who had remained during the greatest part of the attack, at the Saw-mills, two miles from the scene of action, was not to be found; nor did there, in fact, appear any other officer to do his duty, though so fair an opportunity presented itself to the second in command to distinguish and recommend himself. Notwithstanding all this, it is a matter of astonishment, that troops, who had so resolutely advanced to the attack, and who had so valiantly repeated it, should, when broken, yet unpursued, and with day-light before them, be susceptible of so strong a panic. But it is still more surprising to think of the steps taken by the General, when he had resumed the command. He ordered the artillery and ammunition to Albany. Nay, as though he did not think them safe even at that place, measures were taken to convey them to New-York.

I could wish that impartiality, so much the duty of an historian, would, on this occasion, suffer me to consign to oblivion the defeat of my countrymen at Ticonderoga. But that is impossible. Indeed, recording of it will prove a most useful lesson on the little consequence of the most consummate bravery,

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bravery, when not steadily directed by ability and experience.

Lake George being now betwixt the French and Fort William-Henry, the General recovered himself sufficiently to consider it as a sort of barrier. Yet, not wholly satisfied that the French would not, in spite of it, endeavour to return his visit, he prepared to give them the best reception in his power, by intrenching his army, without seeming, however, to entertain the most distant idea of turning the check he had received to any advantage. His numbers were not so much diminished, as to be insufficient to act offensively if prudently directed; and, as the strength of the lines at Ticonderoga was now known, there could be no great difficulty in sketching out such a method of attack, as could not fail of success. At least, the attempt was worth hazarding, as a safe retreat might, at all times, have been easily effected.

As soon as the General thought himself secure in his intrenchments, Colonel Bradstreet proposed to him the plan of an attack on Fort Cataraquoy or Fontenac, on Lake Ontario; which the General, having approved, gave him the following troops to execute it.

Regulars,	-	-	-	135
New-York Provincials,	-	-	-	1112
New-Jersey Provincials,	-	-	-	412
Boston Provincials,	-	-	-	675
Rhode-Island Provincials,	-	-	-	318
Batteau-men,	-	-	-	300

making in all 2952 men;

besides a small detachment of the Royal Artillery, with eight cannon and two mortars. The destruction of the navigation

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gation of Wood-Creek, by Colonel Webb in 1756, proved a very mortifying circumstance to Colonel Bradstreet, and a source of great labour and fatigue to his troops. But resolution and activity surmounted, at length, every obstacle; and the Creek was again rendered in some degree navigable. Colonel Bradstreet then, about the 13th of August, after embarking his artillery and stores, led the army by land, to the Oneida-Lake; and, from thence, by the Onondaga-River, to Lake-Ontario, where they all embarked. On the 25th of August, they landed without opposition near the fort they were to attack; and it surrendered between seven and eight in the morning of the 27th; the garrison, consisting of one hundred and ten men, and some Indians, surrendered prisoners of war.

The fort, thus easily reduced, was a quadrangle of about one hundred yards every way on the outside; mounted with thirty pieces of cannon, and sixteen small mortars; and containing thirteen pieces more of cannon, with an immense quantity of goods and provisions to be sent to the troops gone to oppose Brigadier-General Forbes, and to their western garisons; to supply the army commanded by Mr. de Levi, during his enterprize against the inhabitants on the Mohawk-River; and likewise the Indians in their interest. These stores were valued, by the French themselves, at eight hundred thousand livres. The conquerors, moreover, made themselves masters of nine vessels from eight to eighteen guns each; two of which were sent to Oswego; one of them richly laden: the rest were most unaccountably burnt, or otherwise destroyed, together with the fort, artillery, and stores, in obedience to General Abercromby's orders. The French troops, to the southward, were by this loss exposed to the danger of starving; but they

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might have been equally exposed, and as severely annoyed without such waste. The fort, if improved and enlarged, could not fail, from the excellency of its harbour, and its convenient situation, to render the English masters of Lake-Ontario, and thereby enable them to ruin the commerce of the French, and be a check upon all their expeditions to the westward. And, as to the vessels, and the goods and stores, the latter might have been easily removed by means of the former, and both saved, even though it was not thought proper to leave the fort standing; or trust them to the care of a garrison, in the case it was.

Fort Frontenac was, at this period, the general rendezvous of all the Indian nations, that had any knowledge of each other; the center of all the trade between themselves, and with the French, whose traders, in consequence of their conciliating methods, were so much preferred, by the Indians, to the English traders, that great numbers of them, in their yearly progress to this market, actually passed by the town of Albany, though they might have been supplied there, with what articles they wanted, on much better terms, than they could at Fort Frontenac, or even Montreal; so much better, that the French traders themselves often purchased their commodities for the Indian market from the Albany merchants, as coming much cheaper than they could procure them from France. It was not, however, from mere commercial views, that all the southern Indians undertook so long a peregrination. These annual meetings constituted a kind of general council, in which the events of the preceding year were related; alliances renewed, or new ones formed; and plans of operation agreed upon for the ensuing year; and many Indians resorted to Fort Frontenac, chiefly on these accounts.

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The reduction, therefore, of this place was attended with one more advantage to the English, besides those we have already taken notice of; and that a very singular one. It proved the means of dissolving a very powerful confederacy amongst their most dangerous enemies, and considerably weakening the interest of the French amongst them. And there is no doubt, but that the reduction of Fort Frontenac greatly facilitated the expedition of the English against Fort du-Quefne, as the French troops, against whom Brigadier Forbes's army was to act, were thereby effectually deprived of the necessary supplies. Accordingly, the King of Great Britain took notice of the importance of this conquest, from the throne, to his parliament, along with that of Cape Breton.

The troops destined for the attack of Fort du-Quefne, were to assemble at Philadelphia. But, till the middle of April, Brigadier Forbes, who had been named to command them, was a General without an army. The Provincials, who were to make part of it, were not so much as raised; and the Highlanders, expected from Carolina, who were to make another part, did not arrive till the 7th of June. As to the artillery and military stores, which were to come from England, they did not make their appearance till the 14th of the same month. In short, it was the 30th of June, before he could get the last division of his army out of Philadelphia. This army now consisted of

Royal Americans,	-	-	-	350
Of Montgomery's Highlanders,	-	-	-	1200
Virginia Provincials,	-	-	-	1600
Pennsylvania Provincials,	-	-	-	2700
Waggoners, &c.	-	-	-	1000

Making in all	6850 men.
X 2	From

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From the valour, experience, and vigilance of the General, there was a great deal to hope in this expedition. But, on the other hand, from the length of the march, and the number of close woods, narrow defiles, deep swamps, and high mountains, which lay in his way, there was as much to fear. Add to all this, the opposition he had just reason to apprehend from an insidious enemy, who had acquired new degrees of courage by a long and almost uninterrupted series of successes. But all these mighty obstacles yielded to the excellent disposition of the General's line of march; and several attempts, which the Indians made to obstruct his progress, were all frustrated by the alacrity of the troops in obeying his commands.

When the Brigadier got as far as Ray's Town, about ninety miles east of Fort du-Quefne, he halted with his main-body, and detached Lieutenant-Colonel Bouquet, with two thousand men, to take post at Lyal Hanning. The Colonel, supposing that this force was sufficient to reduce the fort, without any assistance from the General, and eager to secure to himself the honour of such an achievement, began to think of forming a plan for that purpose. With this view, he detached about eight hundred Highlanders, under Major Grant of Montgomery's, to reconnoitre the fort and its outworks, and make the best observations in his power. The Major, in the execution of these orders, drew his men up on the heights near the fort; and beat a march by way of daring the French to come to an action, in which if he had succeeded, in all probability the fort must have fallen, and then the whole glory would have been his own. The French accepted the challenge; they detached a party, to meet him; and a very severe action was the consequence. The Highlanders fought with

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with great bravery for some time, till superior numbers obliged them to give way; and, about three hundred of them, including nineteen officers, having been either killed or taken prisoners, with the Major himself amongst the latter, the rest fled, in great disorder, as far back as Lyal Henning. On this occasion, Colonel Bouquet's ambition got the better of his judgment. The splendor of the prize he had in view dazzled his understanding; for, if it was thought by as able officers as himself, that Brigadier Forbes's whole army was little enough to besiege Fort du Quesne, how could the Colonel reasonably hope to supply the want, and so great a want, of equal power, by any surprize or stratagem?

When the news of this defeat reached the Brigadier's camp, he was, as may naturally be expected, greatly chagrined at the loss of so many brave fellows; who, without his orders, or even knowledge, had been sacrificed to an unwarrantable thirst after glory. This misconduct, however, in one upon whom he so much depended, sharpened his vigour. He exposed no more parties to the danger of suffering by the vanity of individuals; but marched his whole force, under his own direction, with all possible expedition, and with a shew of strength, which effectually imposed upon the French. It struck them with such a panic, that, dreading the consequences of a siege, they dismantled and abandoned the fort, and retired down the river Ohio, to their settlements on the Mississippi; and, the day following, being the 25th of November, Brigadier Forbes took possession of it. Moreover, the Indians in the French interest, having suffered severely in many skirmishes, began to think it impracticable to destroy the communication of the English with their posts, and prevent their penetrating.

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penetrating to Fort du-Quefne. They, therefore, thought proper to enter into a neutrality, and became reconciled to the English government. The fort was ordered to be repaired, and garrisoned with provincials, by the name of *Pittsburg*. The Brigadier then began his march back to Philadelphia, and, at Lyal Henning, built a Block-house for the defence of Pennsylvania. But, unfortunately for his country, he did not live long to enjoy the glory he acquired by this memorable expedition. His constitution having been exhausted by the incredible fatigues of the service, he died at Philadelphia, in the forty-ninth year of his age, justly regretted, as a public loss, by all ranks.

Brigadier Stanwix had been detached with a considerable number of provincials, to erect a fort at the carrying-place between the Mohawk river and Wood-creek, and leave a sufficient garrison in it to afford, at least, a local safety to those Indians in the neighbourhood who were still firm to the English interest. This service the Brigadier had the good fortune to perform, and the honour of giving his name, in memory of it, to the fort he erected. It was called *Fort Stanwix*.

Whilst the intrenchments of General Abercromby inclosed him in security, M. de Montcalm exerted his usual activity in harassing the frontiers, and in detaching parties to attack the convoys of the English. On the 17th of July, one of these parties destroyed three provincial officers and upwards of twenty men, at Half-way-brook; and on the 27th of the same month, one hundred and sixteen waggoners and sixteen rangers met with the same fate between that place and Fort Edward. Major Rogers was then detached with

with a party of seven hundred men, in quest of the enemy; but they had the good fortune to escape him. On his return, he met an express from the General, with orders to proceed to south and east Bay, and return by Fort Edward. Whilst the Major was pursuing the rout prescribed him by these orders, he was attacked, on the 8th of August, near the spot where Fort St. Anne stood, by about five hundred of the enemy, his own number being reduced to five hundred and thirty men. But both he and his men behaved with so much spirit, that, in an hour, they broke the assailants, and obliged them to retreat, though (such was the enemy's caution) without any prospect of being able to distress them by a pursuit. In this action there fell one hundred and ninety of the French; and the English lost about forty, the missing included. Major Putnam and two lieutenants were made prisoners.

The prodigious preparations against Ticonderoga were carried on by two or three gentlemen, subordinate in command; but men, in whose military abilities, resolution, and activity the army justly confided. When Lord Howe was killed, a kind of despondency ensued; and the manner in which the attack of that place was conducted, too plainly proved, that there existed sufficient grounds for such despondency. All, however, that courage could do, was done. Although the English were beaten off by a number greatly inferior, they lost not a jot of honour by their retreat. The miscarriage of an ill-formed, ill-guided plan, cannot, with any colour of justice, be imputed to either the soldiers or inferior officers who resolutely attempted to carry it into execution.

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The advantages resulting from the conquest of Fort Frontenac have been already recorded. The possession of Fort du Quesne secured the frontiers of the English settlements in that part of the continent from any further massacres by the Canadians and Indians, who used to find shelter in that place. For this reason, though the English lost many brave soldiers in this campaign, they must be allowed to have been, upon the whole, gainers by it. The sole advantage on the side of the French, was the defeat of the English at Ticonderoga; and the sole fruit of that advantage, the opportunity of improving the defence of their lines at that place against a second attack.

Thus concluded the fourth campaign, on the continent of North-America, of that war of which we have undertaken to write the history; and the first expedition in which the English fought under the administration of Mr. Pitt. His plans of operation, and his judgment in selecting officers to execute them, did not deceive the expectations of the people. The reduction of Cape-Breton would, alone, have been sufficient to indemnify them for all their wasted treasure; since, not to mention every advantage expected from that conquest, it gave them possession of a noble harbour, justly deemed the key to the river St. Lawrence; and from which they might, at any time, send a fleet into the gulf formed by the mouth of that river, and thereby effectually prevent any succours from France being thrown into Canada.

A conquest of so much consequence could not fail of recommending its conqueror to the throne. Every military virtue was cherished by the King. Reward was the sure attendant on courage and perseverance; and disgrace as certainly fol-

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lowed an opposite conduct.—General Abercromby was dismissed from his command, and General Amherst appointed his successor. Accordingly, on the 9th of November, the latter, who was then at Halifax, received dispatches from England, by the way of Boston, with a commission, appointing him commander in chief of the English troops in North-America. Upon this he embarked, on the 19th, for Boston, where he landed the 3d of December. From thence he proceeded to New-York, where he arrived the 12th, and took upon him the command of the army. On the 24th of January following, General Abercromby sailed for England in the Kennington man of war. Brigadier Wolfe likewise returned to England, in consequence of permission granted him for that purpose in his letter of service; and Colonel Monckton was left to command in Nova-Scotia.

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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
LATE WAR IN AMERICA.
BOOK IV.

Resolution taken in England to attack the French islands in the West-Indies.—Armament ordered for that purpose, sails from England—arrives at Barbadoes—sails for Martinico.—The troops land, and march against Fort Royal.—Resolution taken to attack Saint Pierre.—Troops reembark.—The armament proceeds against Guadaloupe.—Basse-Terre destroyed.—Troops land.—French governor summoned to surrender; his answer.—Resolute behaviour of the inhabitants.—Seat of war transferred to the eastern part of the island.—Fort Louis reduced.—General Hopson dies; is succeeded by General Barrington.—Batteries in and about Basse-Terre destroyed; and all the troops, except one regiment, drawn off.—French fleet discovered off Barbadoes; general council of war in consequence thereof.—French make a show of attacking the citadel of Basse-Terre.—Colonel Desbrisay and others blown up and killed.—French driven back.—English attempt to surprise Petite-Bourg—miscarry—land at Arusuville—carry St. Mary's—enter Capesterre.—Inhabitants offer to surrender on terms—capitulate.



*capitulate.—M. de Bompert arrives off the island—retires.
—Commodore Moore sails in pursuit of him.—General Barrington appoints Brigadier Crump governor of Guadaloupe—sails for England.*

THE theatre of the war being now enlarged, we must conduct our readers to new scenes. The attention of Mr. Pitt was not confined to North-America only: he resolved to send the British thunder amongst the French islands in the West-Indies. With this view, a considerable number of sea and land forces sailed from Portsmouth and Plymouth, towards the end of the year 1758; and having joined, in the latitude 49° 40' N. on the 15th of November, formed the following powerful armament:

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<i>Name.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
The Norfolk	74	Captain Hughes, Commodore
Panther	60	Shulldham
Lyon	60	Trelawney
St. George	90	Gayton
Burford	90	Gambier
Winchester	50	Le Cras
Berwick	64	Harman
Rippon	60	Jekyll
Renown	30	

The Infernal, Grenada, King's Fisher, and Falcon, bomb-vessels.

And sixty transports, carrying, besides a detachment of the Royal Artillery and a brigade of engineers, the under-mentioned regiments:

Third, or Old Buffs	Sixty-first	Sixty-fourth
Fourth	Sixty-third	Sixty-fifth
	Y 2	under

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under Major-General Hopson, as commander in chief; and Major-General Barrington, as second in command; with the Colonels Armiger and Haldane, and Lieutenant-Colonels Traupaud and Clavering, brigadiers.

Besides, the marines on board the men of war had been augmented to eight hundred men, with a view to their being formed into a battalion, under the command of a lieutenant-colonel and a major, expressly named by the King for this service, in order to land with the troops, and to do duty in the line; but this disposition never took place.

These forces were to be joined by some ships of war, already in the West-Indies, under Commodore Moore, to whom Captain Hughes was to resign his command; and likewise by as many volunteers as could be raised in the English islands.

On the 3d of January, after a passage of little more than seven weeks, and without any material occurrence, this armament came to an anchor in Carlisle bay, off Barbadoes, the place of rendezvous in case of separation; and Commodore Moore, who was lying there, with the Cambridge of eighty guns, Captain Bennet; the Bristol of fifty, Captain Leslie; the Woolwich, Roebuck, and Rye, frigates; and Barbadoes sloop of war: his broad pendant hoisted on board the first of these ships, threw out a signal for all lieutenants, and he took upon him the command of the now united squadrons.

The time that the fleet was obliged to continue in Carlisle bay, was spent in watering the ships, landing and reembarking the troops, who were reviewed by Governor Pinfold and General:

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neral Hopson; in councils of war; in assemblies of the council of the island; in issuing proclamations; and in beating up for volunteers. But all the steps taken for the purpose of reinforcing the army and navy, ended in sending forty-six negroes on board each line of battle ship. But, in the mean time, there arrived the Ludlow-castle, and a detachment from the second battalion of Lord John Murray's Highlanders. So that the army, tho' considerably weakened by sickness, particularly the small-pox, which had broken out amongst the transports, still amounted to very near six thousand men. These troops being at length reimbarked, the whole armament put to sea again on the 13th, and stood for the island of Martinico, in the following order:

The Berwick, to lead, with the starboard, and the Burford, with the larboard tacks, on board.

FRIGATES and BOMBS.	LINE OF BATTLE SHIPS.	
Woolwich	Berwick	64
	Winchester	50
	Rippon	60
Granada	Bristol	50
Rye	Norfolk	74
	Cambridge	80
Renown	St. George	90
King's Fisher	Panther	60
Falcon	Lyon	60
Roebuck	Burford	64

On the 15th, they arrived off Port-Royal harbour. The morning after, the Rippon and the Bristol attacked Fort Negro, which they soon silenced; when the marines and seamen

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men from these ships took possession of it without the least opposition, and hoisted upon it the English colours; and soon after the whole fleet came to an anchor in the great bay of Port-Royal.

The Winchester, Woolwich, and Roebuck, now attacked a small fort called *Cas-des-Navieres*; and having done it with the same success that Fort Negro had been attacked, two entire brigades, and most of the third, each in two battalions, landed without opposition, on the beach, in *Cas-des-Navieres* bay, about five miles from Port-Royal; and immediately upon landing formed, and marched towards Fort Negro, lying on their arms all night. The Commodore, on his side, did all that lay in his power to get nearer Port Royal. In the morning of the 17th, the troops continued their march beyond Fort Negro, where the rest of the third brigade now landed, firing the woods, and otherwise endeavouring to clear their front, as they advanced. About noon, they arrived near a hill called *Morne-Tortuifon*, which overlooks the town and citadel of Port-Royal. In this march they were much incommoded by an enemy they could not see; the French being entirely covered the whole way by trees and bushes, notwithstanding all the pains taken to scour and destroy them. Some militia had assembled themselves to defend this eminence; but it was not thought worth while to form any regular attack against them. The roads being bad, and the communication otherwise difficult, between the place where the General had landed his troops, and that where he was to use his artillery, he found himself under the necessity of desiring the Commodore to land some heavy cannon, ammunition, and stores, on the Savannah, near the town of Port-Royal; and, in case that could not be done, to have the

boats ready, the same evening, to bring off the troops, as soon as the moon was up. The Commodore having, immediately on receiving the General's requisition, summoned a council of war, a compliance with that part of it which concerned the cannon, was judged impracticable, as the boats employed in that service must be unavoidably exposed to the fire of the garrison; and, as to the squadron's attacking the citadel, in order to favour them, it could not be done without the greatest risk; seeing the easterly wind, and leeward current, which constantly sets out of the bay, would oblige the men of war to tack frequently to get higher up; and the doing of this would take up some hours; during all which time they could not avoid being cannonaded, not only from the citadel, but from Pigeon-island battery, a battery on the shore opposite the town, and a third strong battery at the upper end of the bay, without being able to return their fire to any purpose. However, the Commodore proposed to land the cannon at Fort Negro, the seamen having cheerfully offered to draw it to any place the General should think most convenient to form his attack. Accordingly the squadron came to an anchor *for that purpose*; but before it could do more, the troops were recalled from their advanced posts in the evening, and re-embarked by the Commodore, with great reluctance; the greater, as the little molestation with which their retreat was attended gave them just grounds to hope, they could not meet with any considerable impediments in their progress. This ridiculous attempt cost the English army Captain Dalmahoy of Duroure's, with twenty-two men, killed; Captain Campbell of Duroure's, and Lieutenant Leslie of the Highlanders, with forty-seven men, were wounded.

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By this precipitate retreat the inhabitants of Martinico obtained some respite from the most terrible apprehensions; for they had given up every thing for lost, and the principal men amongst them were actually deliberating on a deputation, with terms of capitulation, to the English General: But of this circumstance, fortunately for them, the English were ignorant; and, accordingly, a council of war determined, That it would be most for his Majesty's service to proceed with the troops to Fort St. Pierre, in order to make an attack upon that place; and that no time should be lost in doing it.

This council of war was held in consequence of an opinion of the chief engineer and some other officers, That another landing should be made to the southward of the *Carenage*; for the pilots consulted on this occasion declared, That, should the troops land there, it would be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, for the fleet to keep up a communication with them; that the ships, in turning up, would be exposed to the fire of Port Royal, Pigeon island, and another battery; and, after all, must be content to lie at three miles distance from the landing-place. Notwithstanding these objections, Commodore Moore offered to make the attempt, if the general officers thought that a communication at that distance could be kept up to their satisfaction; but an immediate attack on Fort St. Pierre being judged the most prudent measure, the Commodore bore away, about six in the evening of the 18th, from Port-Royal bay; and running down, along the west side of Martinico, appeared, about the same hour the next morning, off the harbour of St. Pierre. This town is built in the form of a semicircle, and is a place of great trade; insomuch that, though the English armament had been long expected in

in these parts, and had been now four days at Port-Royal, forty sail of merchant-men were still lying in the bay. The shore is bold, with a sufficient depth of water to carry in the largest men of war. The Commodore, immediately on his arrival, sent in the Panther, to sound; the Rippon, to silence a battery about a mile and a half north of the town; and two bombs, to take their stations against the town and citadel; and threw out a signal for the transports with the troops, to come under his stern; so that every thing had now the appearance of a general attack. But the face of battle soon wore off: the Panther was recalled; the bombs were forbid to play; and the French merchant-men left unmolested in the bay. The Rippon, indeed, was permitted to stand in, and attacked the fort with so much fury, that it was soon abandoned; but she suffered so much herself from the fire of three other batteries to which she lay exposed, that Captain Jekyll ordered his boats to be manned, and towed her off. This retreat from St. Pierre, was owing to a new resolution that had been taken to employ the armament against some other place. For, when the attack of St. Pierre was proposed by the General, in consequence of the opinion of his council of war, to the Commodore, the latter, on examining the coast, represented to the General, That indeed he made no doubt of being able to destroy the town of St. Pierre, and put the troops in possession of it; but, then, the ships might be so much disabled in the attack, and the army so much reduced, as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any other service; that he even doubted, whether the troops, in case the place was taken, would be strong enough to keep possession of it; that, besides, he was of opinion, that the destroying of the town and citadel of Basse-Terre, in the island

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of Guadaloupe; keeping possession of that place, and reducing, if possible, the island itself, would be of great benefit to the sugar-colonies; since it was the chief nest of the French privateers, which constantly infested the British islands, and ruined the trade between them and North-America; that, therefore, every thing well weighed, he submitted it to the General's consideration, whether it would not be best to proceed to Basse-Terre.

The proposal of turning the force of this armament against Guadaloupe could only be suggested by the Commodore's desire of doing service to his country, and honour to the arms of his sovereign; ends which were not to be obtained by an attack on St. Pierre. For the General himself was in doubt, as well as the Commodore, whether, in case he took it, he should be able to garrison it; the town being commanded by hills, from which the French might, unannoyed, continually harass the troops; and, consequently, create such employment for the British army as would effectually prevent him from so much as attempting to reduce the island of which it was the capital. These weighty considerations induced the General to consent to the Commodore's proposal; and, accordingly, the latter, on the 20th, bore away to the northward, for the town and citadel of Basse-Terre, the metropolis of Guadaloupe.

Guadaloupe, the largest of all the Caribbee islands, is situated in latitude 16° N. and longitude 61° W. about thirty leagues from Martinico. It is about fifteen leagues in length, and twelve in breadth, and divided into two parts by a small arm of the sea, or rather a narrow gut, through which no ship can venture; the inhabitants cross it in a ferry. The country

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to the west is called *Basse-Terre*, where stands the metropolis, and where the citadel and strength of the island lies. The part to the east is called *Grand-Terre*. It has plenty of water, which in some places is very good; in others, it has a mineral quality, which produces fluxes in those who drink it. The citadel, a very large but irregular fortification, is situated at the south end of the town; is built very high, and mounted forty-seven guns.

On the 22d, the fleet arrived off this island; and Commodore Moore made the following dispositions to attack the capital the very next morning:

The Lyon,	- 60	to attack the first battery, of 9 guns
St. George,	90	} ————— the citadel, of 47 guns
Cambridge,	80	
Norfolk,	74	
Burford,	70	} ————— the third battery, of 12 guns
Panther,	60	
Berwick,	66	————— the fourth battery, of 7 guns
Rippon,	- 60	————— the fifth battery, of 6 guns

The ships to silence their respective batteries, and then to lie by them.

The squadron spent the whole of the ensuing night in turning under the island of Guadaloupe; and, in the mean time, two of the bombs stood close in, and threw shells against the citadel of *Basse-Terre*, but without any execution. On the 23d, the Commodore shifted his broad pendant from the Cambridge, and hoisted it on board the Woolwich, the better to observe the assistance which the ships might happen to stand in need of, during the attack on the forts; and, the

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signal for engaging being then made, the ships, according to their orders, endeavoured to bear away for their respective stations. The Lyon began the engagement, by boldly attacking the first battery of nine guns, though raked by a small one of two guns a-stern of her, to the southward; and, by the citadel, with all their guns the garrison could bring to bear upon her. The rest of the ships kept moving on, whilst the citadel played on them, likewise, as they advanced. The St. George, Cambridge, and Norfolk brought their guns to bear against the citadel about nine in the morning; and, after an incessant fire, silenced it by five in the afternoon. About ten, Captain Shulldham, in the Panther, engaged the twelve-gun battery, which having silenced, he lay by it till called off by the Commodore.

The Burford, which was to have supported the Panther in this attack, and the Berwick which was to have engaged the seven-gun battery, drove out to sea; by which means, the Rippon, which followed, became exposed to the battery the Berwick was to have attacked, as well as that she was to attack herself; and, then, to add to her misfortune, she, in bringing up, got too close to the shore, and ran a-ground. The enemy having discovered her distress, assembled in great numbers on the brow of the hill, and lined the trenches, raking her fore and aft from both, with such a brisk fire of small arms, as killed and wounded a number of her men. Not satisfied with this, they, at length brought up an eighteen pounder, and kept playing with it about two hours, as it lay so high above the ship, that it was with difficulty she could silence it. To increase her distress, a box of nine hundred cartridges blew up on the poop, and set her on fire: besides, all her grape-shot

shot and wadding was expended; the latter, the marines and seamen supplied the want of, with their jackets and shirts, which they fired away upon the trenches. In this terrible situation, she made a signal of distress, but while she was expecting an answer, the fire on the poop was happily extinguished.

At this time, Captain Leslie of the Bristol, in his way from sea, observing the situation of the Rippon, whose signal had not been discovered by any one on board the Commodore, ran in between her and the seven-gun battery, which had played upon her from the very beginning of the engagement, and threw a whole broadside upon the enemy, whilst the marines flanked the militia in the lines. Upon this, the fire on the Rippon slackened; but it was, nevertheless, a considerable time before she floated, and could be got off.

As soon as the batteries had been all silenced, a signal was made to prepare to land the troops; but soon after countermanded, the day being too far advanced for that purpose: it was now found very difficult to dispose of the men during the ensuing night, as it was too dark for them to find their respective transports. To obviate this difficulty, the Commodore found means to distribute them among the ships of war. The four bombs now stood in for the shore, and began to throw shells and carcasses with such success, that the houses and churches were every where soon in flames, and the magazine of powder blown about the enemy's ears. In short, by ten o'clock, the whole town blazed out one general conflagration. On the 24th, about two in the afternoon, the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Basse-Terre, where they found the hulls of many ships to which the enemy had set fire on their approach,

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proach, several others had turned out, and endeavoured to escape, but were intercepted and taken by the cruisers.

At five, the troops landed without the least opposition, the town and citadel being abandoned; and hoisted the English colours on the latter about six. A Genoese deserter from the French now gave information, that the enemy had but five companies of regular troops, scarce making one hundred men, in the whole island; and that a train was laid to blow up the powder magazine in the citadel, but that the garrison had been obliged to retreat with too much precipitation, to execute this design. Upon this the train was immediately cut off, and the magazine saved. The guns had been all spiked up by the enemy, but were afterwards drilled out by the matrosses. Part of the troops lay upon their arms all night upon the rising ground, that overlooked the town; part of them made themselves masters of an advantageous post upon a hill, about a mile to the west; and part entered the town, which still continued in flames. The ship, in which was the physicians and head surgeons, not having appeared from the time the squadron left the English channel, it was justly feared she was lost. But she now providentially arrived, when she began to be most wanted.

Early in the morning of the 25th, the French appeared on the hills, to the number of about two thousand. M. le Chevalier Nadau d'Utriell, had fixed his head-quarters at the distance of about four miles from the town; and gave out, that he would defend this post, with another called the Dos d'Ane, a little higher up the country, to the last extremity; saying, That, the English having left them nothing but their lives, they would sell them dearly.

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The Dos d'Anc is situated about five miles from Basse-Terre to the south-east, and is nothing more than a deep cleft or passage through the mountains, affording a communication with Capes-Terre, a more level, and indeed very beautiful part of the island. This opening, in itself hilly, stony and rugged, had been rendered very practicable by a tolerable road the French had made through it; and, had an attempt been made on this pass at the first landing of the troops, whilst the inhabitants were yet under the dominion of a panic, it might, perhaps, have been attended with success. General Hopson had fixed his head-quarters in the town of Basse-Terre, at the Governor's house, or rather in the ruins of it; and sent a flag of truce, with an offer of terms to M. d'Utriell; but this gentleman thought proper to reject them by a letter, in which he says,

"The terms your Excellencies offer me, are such as can only be dictated by the easy acquisition you have made of the town and citadel of Basse-Terre; for, otherwise, you must do me the justice to believe, that I would not have received them.

"The force you have with you is indeed sufficient to give you possession of the extremities of the island, but as to the inland part we there have an equal chance with you.

"In regard to any consequences that may attend my refusal of the terms proposed, I am persuaded they will be such only, as are authorised by the laws of war. But should it happen otherwise, we have a master who is powerful enough to revenge any injury we may sustain.

Guadaloupe,

January 27, 1759.

NADAU D'UTRIEL"

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The conduct of M. d'Utriél did not correspond with the spirit of this answer. A gallant behaviour and a worthy example during the first attack would have done him honour. But, instead of this, he retired to a plantation distant from danger; and remained an inactive spectator of the ruin of the capital, and every other disgrace, which, the same day, attended the French arms. Nor did he the next morning take any precautions to prevent the landing of the English troops, who had the difficulty of a rugged shore and a violent surf, to surmount: And, even after their landing, when he might have defended the entrenchments, and the lines which were every where thrown up, he flew from them, in spite of all the advantages of ground and situation, which, in a manner, solicited him to defend them.

The General, as if convinced of M. d'Utriél's want of real courage, notwithstanding his blustering answer, proposed to try the effect of a second message; but the Commodore warmly opposed it; advising him to pursue his blow, before the enemy could recover from the consternation into which they were thrown; and offered to assist him in doing it with the marines on board the fleet. Mr. Moore the more strongly recommended this measure, as he knew the nature of the climate, and that the troops were likely to suffer more by sickness than opposition. And it must be owned, that, had this advice been adopted, the island would have been, in all probability, sooner reduced, as the posts the enemy possessed on the Capes-Terre side, were not as yet fortified.

The inhabitants now exerted themselves like men engaged in the defence of every thing that was dear to them. They harassed the troops, on all occasions, with the greatest resolution

solution and activity, firing upon them from every sugar plantation that lay in their way. But this proved a very short resource. The English reduced to ashes every place that could afford them any shelter; and at one in particular, where a body of armed negroes had concealed themselves in the canes, and from thence annoyed the troops, they set fire to the several corners of the field, and burnt the negroes and the canes together. Madam Ducharmey, with the valour of an Amazon, not only armed her slaves, but, heading them in person, made several attempts on some advanced posts, and threw up some intrenchments upon a hill opposite to a post commanded by Major Melville. At length, orders being given to attack the works of this heroine, they were immediately executed; the intrenchments were carried, the houses were burnt, the plantations destroyed; and it was with the greatest difficulty, that Madam Ducharmey made her escape. This affair cost the English about twelve men killed, and thirty wounded.

A redoubt, with several intrenchments, had been by this time thrown up at M. d'Utriell's head-quarters; and most of the French troops assembled there. On the 6th of February, early in the morning, a detachment of them, in their way towards the citadel, fell in with a party of the English, which they engaged with so much ardour, that the whole line of the English camp got under arms to their support. But, at length, the French, after a warm dispute, were defeated, without any assistance.

All this while, the natives endeavoured as much as possible to harass the troops in small parties, and carry on their de-

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fence in flying platoons. Inured, themselves, to the climate, they had little to apprehend from its scorching heat; and were, besides, encouraged to bear it from the influence they very well knew it must have on an European constitution. And, indeed, the English army and navy now began to feel its effects; they were attacked with fevers, and other epidemical diseases to such a degree, that it was thought necessary to send five hundred sick to the island of Antigua.

The difficulty of reducing the islanders, in the manner hitherto pursued, increasing from day to day, it was resolved to transfer the seat of war to the eastern and more fertile part of the island, called Grande-Terre. With this view, some men of war were detached from the squadron, to take possession of Fort Louis. The Berwick, Roebuck, Renown, Woolwich, Bonetta, two bombs, and three tenders, were ordered on this service; and on the 13th of February, after a severe cannonading of six hours, the Highlanders and the marines were landed, drove the enemy from their intrenchments, hoisted the English colours on the fort, and kept possession of it. After this expedition, the men of war were ordered to cruize all round the island, to prevent the landing of any succours from St. Eustatia; and this service they effectually performed, the enemy, by their own confession, having had no provisions in the mountains, nor any supply from elsewhere, but what they drew from their stores in Basse-Terre. However, the more effectually to answer this end, the Rippon and Bristol were ordered to sail to St. Eustatia, there to cruize, and prevent the Dutch attempting to throw into Guadaloupe that assistance, which the inhabitants were now unable to procure for themselves.

General

General Hopson, who had been for some time in a bad state of health, died on the 27th; by which the command of the forces devolved upon Major-General Barrington, who, on the 28th, ordered the army to strike their tents, and to hut. On March the 1st, at break of day, the army was huted; and the enemy so amused by it, as to imagine that the General proposed still to continue the attack; but, a few days after, the detachments at the out-posts were all drawn in; the batteries in and about the town of Basse-Terre blown up and destroyed; and the whole army, except one regiment, brought off and re embarked on board transports, the whole, by break of day, and without the loss of a man.

The regiment left on shore was to garrison the citadel, the government of which was conferred on Colonel Desbrisay. The St. George and Buckingham were left to cover the garrison, in case of any attack from the enemy; and this proved a happy precaution. The French no sooner perceived the motion of the troops, than they descended from the redoubt, set fire to the huts, and entered the town. Upon this, Colonel Desbrisay fired upon them from the citadel, beat down and burnt the houses which they occupied, and at the same time made a sally, in which he took some prisoners; the rest made the best of their way back to the redoubt.

Although the fleet sailed on the 7th of March, it was the 11th before all the ships of war and twenty-five transports came to an anchor at Fort Louis, owing to the very great difficulty of turning to windward. Accordingly, the others were driven to leeward, or were prevented by the winds and strong currents from weathering the point of the *Saintes*. The

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General, that night, went on shore to view the works that were carrying on by a detachment which had already been sent thither from Bassé-Terre. On the 12th, he went in a boat to reconnoitre the coast on both sides of the bay, in order to find a proper place to make a descent. But Commodore Moore having acquainted him, in the evening of that day, that he had received certain intelligence of a French squadron, of nine sail of the line and two frigates, having been seen to the northward of Barbadoes, and that it was therefore necessary for him to exchange his present for some more advantageous situation; Mr. Barrington, the next day, called together the general officers, to consider what, in the present juncture, was best to be done. The result of this council was, That, notwithstanding the divided state of the troops, by the separation of the transports, the weak state of Fort Louis, and the impossibility of supplying it with water but from the ships, it would be more for his Majesty's service, and the honour of his arms, to do the utmost to keep possession of it, and wait for some further intelligence of the motions of the enemy.

The French fleet had now come to an anchor in the bay of Port-Royal. It was commanded by M. de Bompard, lieutenant-general, and chef d'escadre, and had on board some troops intended for the relief of Martinico, in case he found it invested by the English. It was very practicable for M. de Bompard to throw succours into Grande-Terre, as it was impossible at the same time for Mr. Moore, considering the situation of his squadron, to put to sea. A resolution was therefore taken to call in the cruising ships, and sail immediately to Prince Rupert's Bay in Dominico, the only place where his
ships.

ships could rendezvous and unite. Here he refreshed his men, who were grown sickly by subsisting on salt provisions; here he supplied his ships with plenty of fresh water; here he had intercourse once or twice a-day with General Barrington, by means of small vessels, which passed and repassed from one island to the other. By continuing in this situation, he likewise maintained a communication with the English leeward islands, the inhabitants of which, on account of their defenceless condition, were constantly soliciting the Commodore's protection; and here he supported the army, the commander of which was unwilling he should remove to a greater distance. Had he failed to Port-Royal, he would have found the enemy's squadron so disposed, that he could not attack it to advantage, unless M. de Bompard had been inclined to hazard an action. Had he come to an anchor in the bay, all his cruisers must have been employed in conveying provisions and stores to the squadron. Besides, he could not have procured any fresh provisions or water; nor could he, in less than eight or ten days, have had intelligence of, or communication with the army or the leeward islands.

After all, this was but avoiding the greater evil: The privateers of the enemy took advantage of this movement. They skulked out along the coasts, and took between eighty and ninety sail of English merchant-men, which they carried into Martinico.

These frequent captures occasioned heavy complaints from the inhabitants of the British islands. They said, it was as easy to have anchored in Port-Royal, as in Prince Rupert's Bay; and that by anchoring in the former, two ends would have been answered: the French men of war could not have got out, nor the prizes

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prizes to their privateers have got in ; so that the latter must have fallen into the hands of the English cruisers, no harbour being then open to the French privateers, but St. Pierre's or Grenada, either of which could at any time be blocked up by a single frigate.

It was likewise asserted, that if the English had made their appearance off Port-Royal Bay, M. de Bompert would have been reduced to the alternative, either of engaging with a superior force, or of retiring, behind the citadel, into the Ca-renage, to avoid it; and so leave to Mr. Moore room to come to an anchor with his squadron between Fort Negro and Pigeon island, where he lay before.

The fleet being failed, the General continued to erect works for the security of the camp, and for the finishing, as well as strengthening, the lines. At length, the chief engineer, who happened to be in one of the transports which could not get up sooner, being arrived, he made a report of the weakness of the fort ; and, though a council of war had deemed it not tenable, the General determined to possess it, till some future event might point out to him what other step it might be proper to take for his Majesty's service. He reflected on the state of the army under his command, and the little probability there was of succeeding with them, in any attempt to reduce the country, without the assistance of the ships of war to cover their landing. However, he determined to make a descent on the coast of Grande-Terre. For that purpose he ordered Colonel Crump, with a detachment of six hundred men, to embark on board some of the transports which carried the most guns, and endeavour to land between the towns of St.

Anne and St. François, and destroy their batteries; and the Colonel happily performed this service with very little loss.

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The General imagined, that, by his sending Colonel Crump to attack the towns of St. Anne and St. François, the enemy would be obliged to detach some of their troops from the post of Gofier. With this view, two days after the Colonel had failed, he ordered the only three hundred men he had left, to be put on board the transports, and lie off Gofier; and, on the morning of the 29th, he reconnoitred the battery and the intrenchments; and, the enemy appearing less numerous than for some time before, he made a disposition to force them by two different attacks. This the troops executed the next morning, at sun-rising, with great spirit and resolution; and, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy from their intrenchments and their battery, soon carried both with very little loss, and drove the enemy into the woods. The cannon and the battery were immediately destroyed, together with the town. Success having attended this attempt, the General ordered the detachment to force its way to Fort Louis; and at the same time sent orders for the garrison to make two sallies; one to the right, in hopes of putting the enemy between two fires; and the other, to attack their lines. The first was made; but, by some mistake, the other was not executed. The detachment from Gofier forced their way with some loss, in spite of a very strong pass which the enemy occupied; and took a battery of three twenty-four-pounders, which the next day was to have played on the camp.

During these transactions, the French, at the redoubt and the Dos-d'Ane, came down upon Colonel Desbrisay in the citadel.

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del of Basse-Terre; and, having got a thirteen-inch mortar from Martinico, threw some shells into it from the neighbouring hills. They likewise created a battery, and kept playing with it upon the new works thrown up by the Governor. Now and then, they made a shew of assault in the body of the place, but were as often dispersed by the fire from the garrison; which, not content with barely defending itself, made frequent sallies to annoy the enemy.

On one of these occasions, a twenty-four pounder happened to be fired too near a barrel of powder, placed in a stone sentry-box, at the angle of the south-east bastion; the wadding set fire to it, and it blew up the Governor, Major Trollop, one lieutenant, two bombardiers, and several men that were on the platform. Colonel Desbrisay and Major Trollop were taken up dead, being thrown at a great distance into the heart of the place; but some of the men, though greatly hurt, recovered.

By this unhappy accident, the army was deprived of two gallant and experienced officers; and the citadel lost a bold and active governor when it most wanted such an officer to defend it. The disorder occasioned by this explosion induced the French to come down in great numbers from the hills; but they were soon beat back. Major Melville, who had particularly distinguished himself, and who commanded the detachment of the thirty-eighth regiment, was appointed governor, in the place of Colonel Desbrisay. The General ordered him to cause a detachment of three hundred men to sally out, under the command of Captain Blomer, on the 1st of April, to attack a bomb-battery, and other works of the enemy; and the

the Captain met with no great difficulty in carrying them. The chief engineer, and the commanding officer of the artillery, were then sent to the citadel, that no time might be lost in putting it again into a proper state of defence.

By this time, the remaining part of the transports, with the troops on board them, were arrived. A plan, therefore, was formed, in consequence of the information of some negroes, and their promising to conduct the troops by night, in flat-bottomed boats, to surprise Petit-Bourg, Guoyave, and St. Mary's, upon the Guadaloupe side, and all at one and the same time. The first of these services was to be performed by Brigadier Crump; who, as soon as he had carried his point, was to march to Bay-Mahaut, and destroy the batteries there, as well as a large magazine of provisions, which the enemy had formed by the help of the Dutch, and to prevent the arrival of any more Dutch ships. The second of these services was entrusted to Brigadier Clavering; who, after surprising St. Mary's and Guoyave, was to march into the Capes-Terre, and reduce that fine country. The fruits of the success of this plan were evident, not only to the General, but to those who were to execute it. But the night proved so bad, and the negro conductors were so much frightened, that they ran several of the boats on the shoals, of which the coast is full. Brigadier Clavering, indeed, landed with about eighty men; but it was on a spot so full of mud and mangrove trees, that he was obliged to return, though not without being discovered by the enemy. Force now became necessary to execute what stratagem could not accomplish. The General, therefore, who, at this critical time, happened to be laid up with a most severe fit of the

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gout, sent Brigadiers Clavering and Crump to reconnoitre the coast near Arnouville; and, in consequence of their report, ordered thirteen hundred regulars and one hundred and fifty of the Antigua volunteers, to land, under the protection of the Woolwich.

Accordingly, on the 12th of April, at day-break, they were put on shore at a bay not far distant from Arnouville. The enemy made no opposition to their landing, but retired to very strong intrenchments behind the river *La Corne*. This post was to them of the greatest importance; and therefore they had spared no pains to strengthen it, though the situation was such as required very little assistance from art. The river was accessible only at two narrow passes; and those they had occupied with a redoubt and well-palifaded intrenchment, defended with cannon, and all the militia of that part of the country. It was impossible to approach them but with a very contracted front; so contracted as, at length, to be reduced to the breadth of the roads, which were intersected with deep and wide ditches. The artillery was ordered to keep a constant fire on the top of the intrenchments, to cover an attack which was to be made by Duroure's regiment, and the Highlanders, who behaved, on this occasion, with the greatest coolness and resolution, keeping up, as they advanced, a regular platoon-firing. This gallant behaviour so much intimidated the French, that they abandoned an intrenchment on the left, when the Highlanders threw themselves into it, sword-in-hand, and, with part of Duroure's, pursued them into the redoubt. The French in the right intrenchment still kept their ground, and annoyed the assailants both with musketry and cannon; and, though those who had carried the first intrench-

intrenchment, had gained their rear, they could not get up to it, till a bridge could be made to pass the river. This took up near half an hour; notwithstanding which, the English crossed it time enough to take about seventy French, as they were endeavouring to make their escape; and, amongst them, were some of the most considerable inhabitants of the island. These intrenchments contained six pieces of cannon, yet were gained with the loss of only thirteen men killed, and two officers and fifteen men wounded. As soon as the ditches could be filled up for the passage of the artillery, Brigadier Clavering marched towards Petit-Bourg. A considerable number of the enemy had lined an intrenchment about half a mile on the left of the road; but when they perceived the English troops endeavouring to surround them, they abandoned it; keeping constantly, however, within about two hundred yards in the front of the English, and setting fire, as they retreated, to the sugar canes; which often made it necessary for their pursuers to avoid the road, to prevent any accident happening to their powder.

The English troops arrived late on the banks of the Lizard, beyond the only ford of which, the French had thrown up very strong intrenchments. These were protected by four pieces of cannon on the hill in their rear. The banks of the river being reconnoitred, and it appearing from the situation of them, that it might cost a great number of men to force it, Brigadier Clavering kept up the attention of the enemy the whole night, by firing into their lines; and, in the mean time, got two canoes conveyed about a mile and a half down the river, and ferried over, by means of them, before break of day, a sufficient number of men to attack the French in flank, whilst he did the same in front. The French soon per-

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ceived their danger, and left their intrenchments with the greatest precipitation. This passage did not cost a single man; and the enemy were still pursued to Petit-Bourg, which they had fortified with lines, and a redoubt filled with cannon. Here the Grenada bomb, Captain Uvedale, was employed in throwing shells into the fort, where the enemy did not long remain after they had discovered in the English an intention to occupy the heights around them. They left the English masters of the fort and the port, with all the artillery and stores.

Brigadier Clavering now halted to get provisions for his men; and, on the 15th, Brigadier Crump was detached with seven hundred men to the Bay-Mahaut, and Captain Steil, with one hundred, to Guoyave, to destroy a battery there. The panic of the enemy was such, that they just discharged their cannon at the latter, and then abandoned their post, tho' it might have been defended against an army. He nailed up seven pieces of cannon, and retired the same evening to Petit-Bourg. Brigadier Crump, the next day, returned from the Bay-Mahaut, where he found the town and batteries abandoned. These he destroyed, with some provisions which had been landed there by the Dutch, before the English attacked the island; and he reduced the whole country as far as Petit-Bourg. The heavy rains which fell on the succeeding days, swelled the rivers so much, that it was impossible to advance any farther; but the English took advantage of this circumstance to strengthen the post at Petit-Bourg.

On the 18th, in the evening, the Antigua volunteers again took possession of Guoyave; and, on the 20th, Brigadier Clavering, after leaving a small garrison at Petit-Bourg, moved on to Guoyave, in order to proceed to St. Mary's, where he was informed, that the enemy were collecting their whole force to oppose him, and had thrown up intrenchments, besides

besides making barricades on the road, to prevent his approach to it. Accordingly they were soon perceived at this work; and it was, at the same time, discovered, that there was a possibility of gaining their rear by roads which they thought impracticable, and consequently had guarded with very little care. A detachment was hereupon immediately formed under Colonel Barlow, for this service; and orders were sent to hasten the artillery, which, from the badness of the roads, had not been able to get up. The first shot from the cannon, with the alarm which was given by the detachment in the rear, made the enemy very soon sensible of their danger; and indeed their precipitate flight alone saved them from being all taken prisoners. They were pursued as far as the heights of St. Mary's, where the English again formed for a fresh attack on the lines and batteries, by which these heights were defended.

Whilst the barricades were levelling for the passage of the artillery, a second attempt was made to penetrate the woods, and gain the precipices that covered the flanks of the enemy's lines; but, before the cannon could arrive, the French perceiving the motion made for that purpose, began to quit their lines to oppose it. This produced a resolution in the English to make an attack in front, without any farther delay; and they made it, accordingly, with so much vivacity, that, notwithstanding the constant fire both from the cannon and musketry of the French, they drove them from their artillery, and obliged them to retire in so much confusion, that they never afterwards made head. Brigadier Clavering took up his quarters at St. Mary's the succeeding night, and, the next day, entered the Capes-Terre, which is the richest and most beautiful part of the whole island, and exceeds perhaps any other

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other in the West-Indies. Eight hundred and seventy negroes, belonging to one person only, surrendered this day.

Here the Brigadier was met by Messieurs de Clainvilliers and du Queruy, who were deputed by the principal inhabitants of the island to know what capitulation would be granted them. The Brigadier ordered them to be conducted to Petit-Bourg, where they were presented to General Barrington. The General, considering that his forces were now much reduced, and still daily decreasing; that part of the country remaining in the hands of the French, was very difficult of access; and that they might still be reinforced from Martinico; took the advantage of their present panic, and settled, without delay, the following terms of capitulation:

Articles of Capitulation between their Excellencies the Honourable Major-General Barrington, and John Moore, Esquire, commanders in chief of his Britannic Majesty's land and sea forces in these seas; and M. Nadau d'Utriell, governor, for his Most Christian Majesty, of Guadaloupe, Grande-Terre, Desceada, and the Saintes.

ARTICLE I. We, the Governor, staff and other officers of the regular troops, shall march out of our posts, with one mortar, two field-pieces of brass cannon, with ten rounds for each piece, arms, baggage, and the honours of war.

GRANTED, except the mortar; and as to the cannon, we will allow only four rounds for each piece; and on condition, that the troops of his Britannic Majesty shall take possession of the different posts of the three rivers, and the hospital, tomorrow morning, the 2d of May, at eight o'clock; and that all the magazines of provisions, ammunition, and implements of war, as well as all papers relating to the revenue, be delivered into the possession of a commissary, to be named by us for that purpose.

- II. That we shall be sent to Martinico, in a good vessel, well provided, and by the shortest passage.

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GRANTED.

- III. That the Commissary-General, officers of justice, admiralty, and all such as have the King's commission, shall likewise be sent to Martinico, in a good vessel, well provided, and by the shortest passage.

GRANTED only for the Commissary-General, and officers of the admiralty; and refused to the others.

- IV. That the staff and other officers shall have leave to take with them their wives and children to Martinico.

GRANTED.

- V. That the staff and other officers shall have the same number of servants granted them, as were allowed by the Most Christian King, viz. to the Commissary-General, twenty-four; to the Lieutenant-Governor, eighteen; to the Fort-Major, fifteen; to the captains, twelve each; to the lieutenants, eight each; and to the ensigns, six each.

GRANTED.

- VI. That it shall be allowed to all the officers who have estates in this colony (except to me the Governor, unless the King permits me also), to appoint attornies to act for them until the peace; and, if the island be not then ceded, the above-mentioned officers shall have leave to sell their estates, and carry off the produce.

GRANTED.

- VII. That a good vessel shall be allowed to the lady of Mons. Duclieu, Lieutenant-Governor-General of the islands, and
Captain.

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Captain of one of the King's ships, to carry her to Marti-
nico, with her equipage, furniture, plate, and servants,
suitable to her rank; and also to the Governor's lady, and
the wives and widows of the staff-officers.

GRANTED; one vessel for all the ladies.

VIII. That Monf. de Folleville, Lieutenant-Governor of Marti-
nico, shall have a good vessel to carry him and his volun-
teers thither, by the shortest passage, with only such arms,
baggage, and servants as they brought with them.

GRANTED.

IX. That the Sieur Avril of Dominica, and his detachment,
shall be sent thither, with their arms and baggage.

GRANTED.

X. That the prisoners, soldiers and sailors, shall be mutually
exchanged.

GRANTED.

XI. That all the negroes who were enlisted, and continued till
the last day of the attack, in the companies of Boulougne,
Petite, Dumoliere, and Ruby, agreeable to the list that will
be given in of them, shall have their freedom, at the ex-
pence of the colony, as by agreement.

GRANTED, upon condition that they are immediately sent
off the island.

XII. That the men belonging to the privateers, who desire to
go to Martinico, shall have a vessel to carry them thither.

GRANTED.

XIII. That there shall be a reasonable time allowed for removing the furniture, effects, and cloaths that are in the reduit, or other places, belonging to the persons who are to be sent to Martinico; and that his Excellency General Barrington shall grant his protection for the safe conveyance of the above-mentioned effects to the place of conveyance.

GRANTED.

XIV. That there shall be an hospital-ship provided for the wounded and sick that are in a condition to be removed; and that the rest shall be taken care of, and sent with a flag of truce to Martinico, as soon as they are recovered.

GRANTED; those that remain shall be taken care of at the expence of his Most Christian Majesty.

XV. That all subjects, formerly belonging to the King of Great Britain, who for crimes were forced to fly their country, and have carried arms in this island, shall be pardoned, and allowed to remain in it as inhabitants.

They must go out of the island.

XVI. That the same honours and conditions shall be granted to the King's troops in the Grande-Terre, as are given to those in Guadaloupe.

They shall have neither mortar nor cannon.

XVII. That the troops at the head of the reduit, as well as those at the three rivers, shall march to the post of the camp at La Garde, and remain there till the day of embarkation.

The transport-ships shall be at the great Bay to-morrow morning to receive the troops of the garrison, the privateers men, and those who are to pass to Martinico.

J. BARRINGTON.
NADAU d'UTRIEL.

JOHN MOORE.

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Articles

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*Articles of Capitulation between their Excellencies and the Inhabitants
of Guadaloupe.*

ARTICLE I. The inhabitants shall march out of their posts with all the honours of war, viz. with two field-pieces, their arms, colours flying, drums beating, and lighted match.

GRANTED; in consideration of the brave defence which the inhabitants have made during an attack of three months, upon condition that they lay down their arms as soon as they have marched by our troops, and that all the forts, posts, batteries, cannon, mortars, firelocks, and bayonets, with all kind of ammunition and implements of war, be delivered to a commissary to be named by us; and that we shall have a power of fixing a garrison in all such places as we shall think proper.

II. The inhabitants of the island of Martinico, Marigalante, and Dominica, who came to the assistance of this island, shall have leave to retire with their arms and baggage, and a ship shall be provided to carry them, and the servants they brought with them, to their respective islands, with provisions for their passage.

GRANTED; except those from Marigalante, who shall be sent to Martinico.

III. The inhabitants shall be allowed the free and public exercise of their religion. The priests and religious shall be preserved in their parishes, convents, and all other possessions; and the superiors of the several orders shall be permitted to send for such as they think necessary from France, and the neighbouring islands; but all letters wrote on this occasion shall be transmitted by the Governor appointed by his Britannic Majesty.

GRANTED.

IV. They

- IV. They shall observe a strict neutrality, and not be forced to take up arms against his Most Christian Majesty, or against any other power.

GRANTED; on condition that they take an oath within a month, or sooner, if possible, to maintain all clauses of this capitulation, as well as to remain exactly and faithfully neuter.

- V. They shall be allowed their civil government, their laws, customs, and ordinances; justice shall be administered by the same persons who are now in office; and what relates to the interior police of the island, shall be settled between his Britannic Majesty's Governor and the inhabitants. And in case this island shall be ceded to the King of Great Britain, at the peace, the inhabitants shall have their choice, either to keep their own political government, or to accept that which is established at Antigua and St. Christopher's.

GRANTED; but when any vacancies happen in the seats of justice, the superior council of the island is to name proper persons to fill up those vacancies, who must receive their commissions from his Britannic Majesty: And all acts of justice whatsoever are to be in his name. But in regard to any change in the political government, we grant it, if agreeable to his Majesty's pleasure.

- VI. The inhabitants, as well as the religious orders, shall be maintained in the property and the enjoyment of their possessions, goods moveable and immoveable, of what nature soever they may be; and shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honours and exemptions; and also the free negroes and mulattoes in their liberty.

GRANTED.

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VII. They shall pay no other duties to his Britannic Majesty but such as they have hitherto paid to his Most Christian Majesty, without any other charge or imposts; the expences attending the administration of justice, the pensions to curates, and other customary charges, shall be paid out of the revenue of his Britannic Majesty, in the same manner as under the government of his Most Christian Majesty.

GRANTED; but if this island is ceded to his Britannic Majesty at the peace, it shall be subject to the same duties and imposts, as the other English Leeward Islands, the most favoured.

VIII. All prisoners taken during the attack of this island shall be mutually exchanged.

GRANTED.

IX. The free mulattoes and negroes, who have been taken, shall be considered as prisoners of war, and not treated as slaves.

GRANTED.

X. The subjects of Great Britain who have taken refuge in this island, whether criminals or debtors, shall have leave to retire.

GRANTED.

XI. No other but the inhabitants actually residing in this island, shall possess any lands or houses, by purchase, grant, or otherwise, before a peace; but if at the peace this island should be ceded to the King of Great Britain, then such of the inhabitants as do not chuse to live under the English government, shall be permitted to sell their possessions, moveable and immoveable, to whom they will, and retire whenever they please; for which purpose there shall be a reasonable time allowed.

GRANTED;

GRANTED; but such of the inhabitants as chuse to retire, shall have leave to sell to none, except subjects of Great Britain.

XII. In case there should be any exchange at the peace, their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties, are desired to give the preference to this island.

This will depend on his Majesty's pleasure.

XIII. The inhabitants shall have liberty to send their children to be educated in France; and to send for them back; and to make remittances to them while there.

GRANTED.

XIV. The absent inhabitants, and such as are in the service of his Most Christian Majesty, shall be maintained in the enjoyment and property of their estates, which shall be managed for them by attornies.

GRANTED.

XV. The wives of officers and others, who are out of the island, shall have leave to retire with their effects, and a number of servants suitable to their rank.

GRANTED.

XVI. The English government shall procure for the inhabitants an exportation for such commodities as the island produces, and are not permitted to be imported into England.

GRANTED; as the island produces nothing but what may be imported into England.

XVII. The inhabitants shall not be obliged to furnish quarters for the troops, nor slaves to work on the fortifications.

GRANTED; but barracks will be provided as soon as possible for the lodgment of the troops; and such negroes as shall be employed.

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employed with the consent of their masters, on public works, shall be paid for their labour.

XVIII. The widows and other inhabitants, who through illness, absence, or any other impediment, cannot immediately sign the capitulation, shall have a limited time allowed them to accede to it.

GRANTED; but all the inhabitants, who chuse to partake of the advantage of the capitulation, shall be obliged to sign it within a month from the date hereof, or to quit the island.

XIX. The men belonging to the privateers, and others who have no property in the island, and are desirous to leave it, shall have vessels to carry them to Martinico or to Dominica, (at their option) and shall be furnished with provisions for the passage. Nevertheless, those persons who have any debts with the inhabitants of the island, shall be obliged to settle their accounts with them before they depart.

GRANTED.

XX. The inhabitants shall have leave to give freedom to such negroes as they have promised it to, for the defence of this island.

GRANTED; on condition that they are immediately sent off this island.

XXI. The inhabitants and merchants of this island, included in the present capitulation, shall enjoy all the privileges of trade, and upon the same conditions as are granted to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, throughout the extent of his dominions.

GRANTED; but without affecting the privileges of particular companies established in England, or the laws of the king-

dom, which prohibit the carrying on of trade in any other than English bottoms.

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XXII. The Deputies of the Grande-Terre, not having a sufficient power to sign the capitulation, though the colony adheres to the conditions of it, under the authority of M. Nadau, may sign it when they have their full powers, and they will be comprehended in all the clauses.

GRANTED.

Given at the head-quarters in the Capes-Terre.

Guadaloupe,	J. BARRINGTON.	JOHN MOORE.
1st May, 1759.	NADAU d'UTRIEL.	DE BOURGE.
	CLAINVILLERS.	DU QUERY.

It was a remarkably fortunate circumstance, indeed, that General Barrington lost no time in agreeing to these capitulations; for that with the inhabitants of Grande-Terre was but just signed, when a messenger arrived in their camp to acquaint them, that M. Beauharnois, the General of these islands, had landed at St. Anne's on the windward side of the island, with a reinforcement of troops, under the convoy of M. de Bompert's squadron. This armament, had it arrived but an hour sooner, might have rendered the conquest of the island very difficult, if not impossible. When M. Beauharnois heard that the capitulation was signed, he immediately reembarked, and returned to Martinico.

The town of Basse-Terre was now no better than an heap of ruins. But the inhabitants, in the true spirit of Frenchmen, seemed to think no farther of their losses than was necessary to repair them. They immediately set about clearing away the rubbish; and the General assisted them with every humane:

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humane indulgence, to which that uncommon spirit seemed to entitle them.

Before this period which we have last recorded, Commodore Moore having received intelligence, that M. de Bompard had sailed from Martinico, with a design to land a reinforcement at Guadaloupe, and that his squadron was seen seven leagues to the windward of Marigalante, he sailed from Prince Rupert's Bay, and turned to windward with all possible dispatch; carrying a press sail, night and day, with a view of coming up with the enemy; nor did he neglect any step that could be taken for that purpose. Had he pursued any other course, the French commander might have run into the harbour of St. Christopher's, and destroyed or taken a great number of merchant ships, which were then loading with sugar for England. Not content with this looking out for M. de Bompard, Mr. Moore had recourse to every expedient and stratagem he could devise for bringing him to action. He even sent away part of his squadron, out of sight of the inhabitants of Dominica, that they might represent to their friends at Martinico, his force as much inferior to what it really was. But this had no effect on M. de Bompard. He seemed to take as much pains to avoid a battle, as Mr. Moore did to bring him to one.

Guadaloupe being thus reduced, General Barrington summoned Marigalante, the Saintes, and Deseada to surrender. The latter submitted immediately, upon the same terms that had been granted to Guadaloupe; as did Marigalante, on the appearance of the Berwick, Bristol, Ludlow-Castle, and two Bombs, with a body of troops before it. The little Island of Petit-Terre was amongst the first to submit.

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The General now prepared for his return to England; and, with this view, he gave the Commodore notice, that he intended to send back to England, about the beginning of July, part of his troops in the transports which had brought them out. In consequence of this intimation, Commodore Moore repaired with his squadron to Basse-Terre road, where he was, the next day, joined by two ships from England. This reinforcement gave his squadron a great superiority over that of the French, which, by this time, was discovered by the Rippon to have retired to the island of Grenada. The Commodore was made acquainted with this circumstance; but, before he could weigh anchor, a frigate came in with fresh intelligence, that M. de Bompard had quitted Grenada, and was supposed to have steered towards Hispaniola.

In a tour the General now made of the island of Guadeloupe, he gave directions concerning what forts and fortifications he thought proper to have repaired and garrisoned; and regulated in concert with the inhabitants every thing that concerned them. He then ordered the Highlanders, with some draughts from the other troops, to North America; and conferred the government of the island on Brigadier Crump. Every thing being now settled to his entire satisfaction, he went on board the Roebuck, on the 23d of June; and on the 25th, set sail for Great Britain; in company with forty transports, carrying what remained of the old Buffs, Barrington's, and Elliot's, after completing, by draughts from them, Durore's, Watson's, and Armiger's, which were left to garrison the new conquests. Two days after, Commodore Moore, with his squadron, steered for Antigua.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
LATE WAR IN AMERICA.
BOOK V.

Plan of operations for the ensuing campaign.—Honour conferred on General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen.—Dispositions of the French.—General Amherst repairs to Albany—takes the field—arrives on the banks of Lake-George—traces out a fort, and encamps—embarks on the Lake—disembarks.—French abandon the lines at Ticonderoga, and also the fort, which are taken possession of by the English—their preparations to attack Crown-Point—the French abandon it—occupied by the English.—General Amherst receives an account of the surrender of Niagara.—Major Rogers ordered to chastize the Indians of St. François.—General Amherst embarks his army to pursue the French, who had retreated to the Isle-Aux-Noix—returns to Crown-Point—closes the campaign.—Particulars of the siege of Niagara.—The forts of Presque-isle, Venango, and Le Bruf, reduced.—Colonel Haldimand attacked at Oswego.—Operations of Brigadier Stanwix.

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WE must now return to the continent of North-America, where the English minister had determined to make, at once, three different attacks, in order to divide and weaken the power of the French, and, if possible, complete the conquest of Canada in one campaign.

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The plan for this purpose was, That Major-General Amherst, the commander in chief, should endeavour to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point; then, in case of success, by the Lake-Champlain, proceed, down the river Richlieu, to the banks of the river St. Lawrence, and there join Mr. Wolfe, now appointed a major-general, who, with another army, and a considerable fleet of ships, was to undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of Canada; that a third army should invest the fort of Niagara, whilst a smaller one attacked the lesser forts in the neighbourhood of Pittsburg, and on the line of communication between that place and Lake-Erie.

General Amherst, in conjunction with Admiral Boscawen, had now received the highest honour that the nation could bestow. They were thanked, by the representatives of the people assembled in parliament, for their gallant behaviour and steady conduct in the reduction of the important fortresses of Louisbourg. The great talents so happily exerted on that memorable occasion, inspired the people with hopes, that the same success would attend this campaign. Accordingly, every heart beat with anxiety for the issue of the part which General Amherst was to have in these operations. The fatal miscarriage against Ticonderoga, in 1758, was still recent in the minds of every one, and gave great uneasiness to many. There was no reason to think, that the difficulties which then presented themselves, were any way diminished, but rather the greatest grounds to fear they were considerably increased. The French had reinforced Crown-Point; acquired new strength on Lake-Champlain, of which they were entirely masters; and had, at Fort-Chamblé, a body of regulars

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and Canadians, to maintain the pass from the falls of the river Richlieu to the river St. Lawrence.

To pursue, with effect, the plan of which we have been speaking, it was necessary to take the field early. General Amherst, therefore, embarked at New-York on the 28th of April, and arrived at Albany on the 3d of May. What time he spent here was employed in collecting his army, forming them for the field, and, in particular, giving the provincials some little idea of military discipline; getting ready whale-boats, and other boats, for transporting the troops, artillery, and stores; and in every other preparation necessary to attain the grand object of his instructions.

In the mean while, Major Rogers had been ordered, with Lieutenant Brheme, an assistant engineer, and a party of three hundred and fifty men, to make what observations they could on the enemy's forts of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point. They left Fort-Edward the 3d of March. Lieutenant Brheme having executed his orders, returned. Major Rogers fell in with a working party of the French, killed some, and took several prisoners, near Ticonderoga, with the loss of three or four men. The weather was so intensely cold during this expedition, that it froze the feet of two-thirds of the detachment; some to such a degree, that the rest were obliged to carry them.

A regiment having been raised in America, to serve as light infantry, it was given to Colonel Gage, who was now appointed a brigadier. This regiment, having received new arms, were detached to take post at the rifts above Saratoga, there to remain till farther orders; as, likewise, a party of the

the seventeenth and the forty-second regiment, to the rifts near Still-water: and three hundred of the Rhode-island regiment to Fort-Edward. The forty-fourth regiment was ordered to encamp at Schenectady, where Brigadier Prideaux was to take upon him the command of the expedition designed against Niagara. Colonel Haviland, with the remainder of the seventeenth, the twenty-seventh, and two companies of the Royal, joined Brigadier Gage's. The rest of the troops, when completed for the field, were ordered to Fort-Edward.

A spirit of desertion broke out amongst the troops, which made examples necessary to stop, if possible, so great an evil. Lenity on such occasions is often a temptation to the commission of crimes, which the certainty of punishment would effectually deter men from committing: his Excellency, therefore, approved the sentence of a general court-martial which had found Dunwood and Ward guilty of desertion, and sentenced them to death; and the sentence was accordingly executed.

Some former orders to the regulars, declaring the General's resolution never to pardon desertion, and his assurances, that their good behaviour should be rewarded, were now addressed to the provincial troops, that they too might know what they were to expect from good or bad conduct, and have time to reflect on the ignominy which would certainly attend the latter. But, in spite of these examples, in spite of these promises and threats, the spirit of desertion still prevailed; and two other deserters, Rogers and Harris, being found guilty, were condemned to die.

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On the 3d of June, the rear of the army were ordered to take the field. The General left Albany the same day; and, on the 6th, arrived at Fort-Edward, where he encamped.

Blockhouses were erected in the front of each regiment; and every possible precaution was taken to prevent the army's being surprised by the enemy; nor was the preservation of the health of the troops less attended to. The drinking of spirituous liquors was totally discouraged, and a wholesome beverage was introduced in its stead. This consisted of melasses and the tops of the spruce fir, boiled together in a proper quantity of water; a mixture which had been found a most excellent antiscorbutic, and even an antidote against those distempers frequently occasioned by the excessive drinking of spirituous liquors.

A flag of truce now arrived from M. de Montcalm, forwarded by M. de Bourlemaque, on pretence of exchanging prisoners, and settling a cartel. But the real purpose of it was, to gain an opportunity of making observations on the numbers and quality of the English troops, and other particulars of that nature. The General, therefore, whose vigilance was not to be eluded, frustrated the enemy's designs, by ordering the messenger to remain at a distance from the camp, till his dispatches were examined, and an answer returned to them.

Although scouting parties were kept constantly on the patrol, and every kind of protection given to the inhabitants, yet numbers of them were daily scalped. The French and their Indians seemed to wanton in cruelty; nor age nor sex could
arrest

arrest the bloody knife. The shocking accounts, which almost hourly arrived of these outrages, produced the following order; copies of which were sent to M. de Vaudreuil, and to M. de Montcalm:

“ No scouting party, or others in the army, are to scalp women or children belonging to the enemy. They are, if possible, to take them prisoners; but not to injure them, on any account. The General being determined, should the enemy continue to murder and scalp women and children, who are the subjects of the King of Great Britain, to revenge it by the death of two men of the enemy, for every woman or child murdered by them.”

Not any thing could add more to the reputation of General Amherst than this order, in which mercy and justice, humanity and sound policy, were all so happily combined, as mutually to temper and support each other.

The greatest part of the troops, artillery, and stores being now arrived, the General left Fort-Edward on the 21st of June, with about six thousand regulars and provincials; and marched them, in two columns, visiting the several posts on the communication, and making such alterations in them as he judged best for their security. In the evening, he encamped on the banks of Lake-George, and, the next day, with the assistance of Colonel Montresor, the chief engineer, traced out the ground for erecting a fort.

All possible expedition was now used to get up the remainder of the artillery and stores, and to hasten the arrival of the

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troops and the boats, that the army might lose no time in proceeding on the intended enterprize. But the difficulties occasioned by the length of the carrying-place between Fort-Edward and Lake-George, and the badness of the roads over it, greatly impeded the endeavours of the General.

In the mean time, however, several ambuscades were formed on both sides of Lake-George, and several parties were sent out by General Amherst, as if merely to fish, in order to decoy the French into them; but all to no purpose. The French never appeared when these parties were out, or at least never took notice of them, but once, when, the advanced guard firing too soon, the enemy discovered their strength, and precipitately retired. The French, on their part, were no less assiduous in endeavouring to annoy the English camp. On the 2d of July, a serjeant, corporal, and sixteen men, of the new Jersey regiment, who were cutting bark within sight of the camp, were attacked by a body of French Indians, who had concealed themselves in the brush-wood, and from thence stole on them unperceived. The General, the moment he heard the firing, ordered a company of light infantry and rangers to their relief, and then two more companies of light infantry, and three companies of grenadiers. But tho' these troops were out as soon as ordered, and did not lose a single moment in the pursuit, the enemy fled time enough to get into their canoes, after killing six of the bark-cutters. They, besides, carried off the corporal and five private men. The serjeant, with the remainder, returned to the camp. Captain Jacobs of the Stockbridge Indians, with about thirty others, having been sent to hover about Ticonderoga, was not so successful as the French Indians; but it was, in a great measure, his own fault. He had received
orders

orders not to appear on the lake in the day-time; but was so imprudent as to disobey them: in consequence of which he was attacked by a superior force, and only ten of his party returned to the camp; Jacobs himself being taken prisoner.

On the 17th, another effort was made by M. de Montcalm to gain intelligence of General Amherst's situation, by means of a flag of truce. But, as soon as it was discovered on the lake, an aid-de-camp was dispatched to conduct the boat into a bay, from whence the camp could not be seen; and a company of light infantry was ordered as a guard to the nearest of the two points that formed the bay. This flag of truce brought letters from M. de Montcalm at Montreal, and M. Bourlemaque at Ticonderoga. The General answered them during the night; and, in the morning, sent an aid-de-camp with his answer to the *Capitaine de milice*, who had been the bearer of them.

The superintendence of the naval department, on this expedition, having been intrusted to Captain Loring of the navy, and a sloop called the *Halifax*, that had been sunk the last campaign, having been weighed and rigged, and the whole of the troops, ammunition, stores, and boats being now arrived, the General, on the 21st of July, ordered the army to embark.

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This army consisted of the following forces:

REGULARS,

Royal	42d	} The whole, officers included, }	- 5743
17th	55th		
27th	77th		

ROYAL ARTILLERY,

III

PROVINCIALS,

Whiting	Schuyler	} The whole, officers included, }	- 5279
Lyman	Fitch		
Worcester	Lovewell		
Babcock	Willards		
Ruggles			

Gage's light Infantry.

Total 11133

These forces were divided into four columns; and to cross the lake in the following order:

Fifty men of Gage's light infantry.

The remainder, in two lines, to cover the front of the columns.

THE INVINCIBLE RADEAU.

4th Column.	3d Column.	2d Column.	1st Column.
1 eighteen-pounder	Rafts with cannon	Regiments.	1 twelve-pounder
Lyman's battalion	Schuyler's, with artillery-flores the right; Ruggles's first battalion, with artillery-flores Carpenters and tools,	Royal	Rangers
Worcester's		17th	Light infantry
Fitch's		27th	Grenadiers
Babcock's		42d	Ruggles
Lovewell's		55th	Willards
		77th	Second Battalions.

Whiting's to cover the rear.

Halifax sloop to cruize in the rear of the whole.

Whiting's regiment to have the batteau-guard; and Colonel Bradstreet was to make such dispositions for them as he thought best.

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The front column was commanded by Colonel Haviland;

That in the rear, by Colonel Lyman;

The second column, by Brigadier-General Gage;

And the third, by Colonel Schuyler.

The artillery was ordered to land immediately after the second column. It was commanded by Major Ord, and composed the following train:

- 6 twenty-four-pounders
- 4 eighteen-pounders
- 10 twelve-pounders
- 7 six-pounders
- 3 three-pounders
- 6 eight-inch howitzers
- 5 five-and-a-half-inch howitzers
- 8 royals
- 4 ten-inch mortars
- 1 thirteen-inch mortar.

On the 22d of July, this armament arrived at a place called the *Second Narrows*, without any accident; and the troops disembarked very near the landing-place formerly used by General Abercromby's army. The advanced-guard skirmished with a party of the French, from which they took two prisoners; by whom the General learned, that M. Bourlemaque commanded at the lines, and that his force consisted of about three thousand regulars and Canadians, and about four hundred Indians. This was all the opposition General Amherst

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met in his way to the Saw-Mills, where he now took post; and having effectually secured it, he advanced towards the enemy's lines. The troops, that night, lay on their arms. The next morning, the French observing that his Excellency's dispositions indicated a formal attack, they saved him any farther trouble, by abandoning their lines, which he immediately took possession of with the grenadiers of the army, and then encamped behind them with the rest of the army. The French now began a brisk cannonade from the fort, on the English troops; but the same work that had proved so destructive to the latter the preceding year, now became a protection to them.

In the center of these remarkable lines, the French had erected an high cross, which was now standing. Before this cross was sunk a deep grave. To the cross was affixed the following inscription, engraven on brass:

Pene principes eorum sicut Oreb, et Zeb, et Zebec, et Zalmanna.

The French having abandoned their lines without opposition, the General had the less reason to fear any resistance superior to the forces he had to conquer it. He, therefore, on the 24th, sent off the New-Hampshire regiment, to strengthen the garrison of Oswego, that, in case of necessity, a detachment might be made from thence to assist in the reduction of Niagara.

Dispositions were now made to attack the fort with all the vigour the army brought against it could exert; and the garrison of the fort shewed every appearance of being equally disposed to make a resolute defence. But M. Bourlemaque,

the commandant, soon finding that the General was not only well provided with every requisite to carry on the siege, but was also possessed of every military talent necessary to employ them, thought proper to retire, on the 23d, with all his forces, except four hundred men, who remained till the evening of the 26th, when they likewise abandoned their post, after doing every thing the shortness of their time would allow them, to destroy and blow up the fortifications of the fort. Some deserters from this party came into the English camp, and informed the General, that the commander had loaded every gun, charged several mines, and laid fuzes to spring them when all his men should have evacuated the place; and that there was a great quantity of powder in the fort. The General offered them one hundred guineas if they would discover the fuzes, that they might be cut off; but they absolutely declared, they did not know where to find them. Their fears, it is probable, had absorbed their whole attention to such a degree, as to make them forget what they knew of the matter. They stood trembling at the thoughts of the terrible event, although at so great a distance from the scene of expected ruin. Nor were their fears ill-grounded, in point of time at least; for, as they were still protesting their ignorance, the explosion was heard. One would suppose, that the French were under some apprehensions from the consequences of it; for so precipitate was their retreat, that they forgot to give information of it to some of their scouting parties; the consequence of which was, that, when they returned, expecting to find their own army where they had left it, they found themselves prisoners in that of the English.

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As soon as the General could be satisfied, that there no longer remained any latent seeds of destruction in the fort, he took possession of it; and, immediately, detached Colonel Haviland, with the light infantry, in flat-bottomed boats, to pursue the fugitives. The Colonel came up with their rear; took some powder and a few prisoners; and then returned.

Ticonderoga is a very important post. It effectually covers the frontiers of the province of New-York; and is a secure retreat for the army in case of necessity. The General, therefore, now ordered the fort near it, which lies towards the water, and which the French had not finished, to be not only repaired, but completed. He likewise gave directions for repairing the fort of Ticonderoga on the same plan on which it was originally built, as this would be a great saving, considering that but a small part of it had been ruined. This fort is a square, with four bastions, built with logs, on rocks covered with masonry, to afford a level foundation. The counterscarp of the glacis, and that of the ditch, with two ravelins, covering the only front to which approaches could be made, are all masonry. Only one bastion and two courtines were demolished; and these not in the front easiest to be attacked. The glacis, the covert-way, the casemate, the walls of the barracks, and eleven good ovens, which proved of great use to the troops, had not received the least damage.

Fifteen private men were killed, and about fifty wounded, in the acquisition of this important post, besides Colonel Roger Townshend, who fell by a cannon-ball, on the 25th of July. His spirit and military knowledge justly entitled him to the esteem of every soldier; and, accordingly, the loss of him was universally lamented.

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In the night of the 25th, the camp was alarmed by an imaginary attack. The soldiers flew to their arms ; and every man's fears transforming his neighbour into a Frenchman, they fired at each other as if real enemies. This is one instance, amongst many, to prove that the forming of a soldier is not the work of a day. It requires time to make the rustic villager shake off his natural timidity ; familiarise him to objects which heretofore they could not even think of without horror ; and infuse into them habits of that obedience necessary to the preservation of good discipline. The bayonet, in the hands of men who can be cool and considerate amidst scenes of confusion and horror, is, by far, more safe to those who use it, as well as more destructive to those against whom it is used, than powder and ball. On these principles, the General ordered, that in case, the enemy should make any attack in the night, they should be received with fixed bayonets. Another reason for giving this order was, to prevent the repetition of false alarms, by the discharging of muskets ; and thereby preserve the lives of many, who might otherwise fall by the hand of their fellow-soldiers, in consequence of that disorder inseparable from attacks in the dark. In the morning, the army saw the loss and disgrace with which disobedience of orders must infallibly be attended, especially by night ; considering the impossibility of distinguishing between friends and foes at that season. A panic, which had seized on two or three raw recruits, unhappily spread to great part of the line ; and got the better of their recollection to such a degree, that nothing less than the General's presence could correct their belief of the enemy's being actually in the heart of their camp. At length day-light convinced them of the consequences of thus encouraging groundless fears, by shewing them

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two of their comrades killed, and many others wounded; and how necessary it was for them implicitly to obey every order of their officers, in order to avoid suffering again in the like manner.

On the 28th, a courier arrived from General Johnson to inform the General of the death of Brigadier Prideaux before Niagara. Brigadier Gage was, upon this, immediately ordered to succeed him; and the second battalion of Royal Highlanders detached to Oswego, that, in case Niagara should not be yet taken, Brigadier Gage might renew the attack with the utmost vigour and dispatch.

Five hundred men were ordered to Lake-George, and to return with provisions and stores. The General's intention being now engaged in making himself equal, if not superior, to the enemy on the lake, he ordered Captain Loring to weigh some French battoes that had been sunk, and construct a brig; and took every other step that was necessary to be able to proceed without the least loss of time on the intended attack against Crown-Point.

As it was highly necessary to be first justly informed of the situation of the enemy, and the condition of the place, scouts were ordered out to reconnoitre both. A body of two hundred rangers, commanded by Major Rogers, were detached to take post as near Crown-Point as possible; but in such a manner, as not to be surpris'd; then seize on the best ground they could to defend themselves; and keep it, in case they were attacked, till they could be reinforced by the army. But all these precautions proved equally needless. On the 1st of August, intelligence was received, that the French had abandoned
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that place ; upon which a detachment was ordered to take possession of it. The General followed, with the bulk of the army, and arrived on the 4th, when he encamped his troops, and ordered a new fort to be traced out by Lieutenant-Colonel Eyres, as a farther protection to the British dominions, particularly against the scalping parties that had so long infested this part of the country ; and thereby insure such a continuance of peace and quiet to the King's subjects, as was necessary to induce them to return to their deserted habitations between this place and Albany.

The scouts employed to procure intelligence were not idle ; and were, besides, so judiciously disposed, as to bring some, almost every hour. Part of this intelligence was, that the enemy had halted on the *Isle-Aux-Noix* in Lake Champlain ; that their army consisted of three thousand five hundred men, and a very large train of artillery, the whole commanded by M. Bourlemaque ; that there were, besides, on the lake, four large vessels well manned, and mounted with cannon, commanded by M. le Bras. In consequence of this information, the General, who was resolved to secure a naval superiority on the lakes, sent orders to Captain Loring, who had been left at Ticonderoga, to add a sloop of sixteen guns to the brigantine now on the stocks, whilst Major Ord constructed a raft to carry six six-pounders.

On the 3d, a courier arrived from Niagara, with the agreeable news that the garrison of that place had surrendered to Sir William Johnson, by capitulation, on the 25th of July.

Brigadier Gage had been instructed, in case Niagara should be reduced, to take post immediately, at a place the French

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called *la-Galette*, near the entrance of the river St. Lawrence; and as soon as General Amherst was informed of the above event, he sent Major Christie to Brigadier Gage, to enforce those orders, as by that means the English on the Mohawk river would be as effectually freed from the inroads of the enemy's scalping parties, and be enabled to live in as much security, as the inhabitants of any part of the country between Crown-Point and New-York had already been. But, however necessary it might be to take possession of this post, the difficulties which would attend the doing of it appeared to Brigadier Gage so great, that he thought proper to make the General acquainted with them; and, in the mean time, defer the execution of his orders to a more favourable opportunity. As the General deemed this post an object of the first consequence, he was greatly chagrined at the account from Brigadier Gage, especially as the season would be too far advanced before his orders, if he renewed them, could reach Brigadier Gage, for the Brigadier to execute them. He, therefore, was obliged to postpone this necessary business to another campaign.

Captain Kennedy, who had been sent by the General with a flag of truce, to offer peace to the Indians of St. François, was detained by them with his whole party. This insult exasperated the General to such a degree, that he immediately determined to chastise them with a severity equal to the offence. With this view, the more effectually to distress the enemy, he ordered a party of two hundred men under Major Rogers to march and attack them on the south side of the river St. Lawrence; the barbarities and infamous cruelties which those dastardly villains, in particular, had promiscuously committed on women and children, meriting the most exemplary punishment. The troops sent against them were, how-

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ever, forbid to use any retaliation against women and children ; in a spirit truly becoming an English enemy.

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The sloop, the brig, and the raft, being now ready, the General, on the 11th of October, embarked his whole army in boats, with a design to attack the enemy on the *Isle-Aux-Noix*. But his endeavours to get at them were baffled by the extreme badness of the weather, which obliged him to get into some place of security. For this purpose, he chose a commodious bay on the western shore, where all except the Rangers landed, and boiled their kettles, covered by Gage's light infantry. The Rangers were disembarked on a neighbouring island. The lake now became too boisterous to venture on it with any kind of safety ; and the year was too far advanced to leave any room to expect it would be again favourable for military operations. The winter itself approached with the most rigorous aspect.

On the 18th, however, the lake calmed a little, and a southerly wind, the usual forerunner as well as cause of mild weather in all northern climates, springing up, the General was tempted to make one more effort. But a northerly wind blowing fresh on the 19th, convinced him of the impracticability of executing his plan, or at least the impropriety of attempting it. He therefore ordered the troops to return to Crown-Point. This was a severe disappointment, as they thought themselves on the eve of putting an end, by one decisive stroke, to the uncommonly severe fatigues and dangers of an American war, which they had now so long endured. Thus, just as they were upon the point of seizing the palm of peace, and, of course, insuring the possession of the wreath of glory, their views were blasted ; and the completion of their wishes

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protracted to the return of a season more favourable to new exertions of their patience and spirit.

The first evening after the army left Crown-Point, a mistake had nearly proved fatal to part of the forty-second regiment. This corps, having followed the light of the brig instead of the radeau, was led close to the enemy, and attacked by them; and it was with the greatest difficulty they cleared themselves, at the expence of one boat, and twenty-five men, with Ensign Mackey, taken prisoners. But the French soon paid for this advantage. The English brig was a formidable vessel for this lake. She mounted six six-pounders, twelve four-pounders, and twenty swivels; carried seventy seamen, and a detachment of sixty men with officers, from the troops, to serve as marines; this vessel was commanded by Captain Loring. The sloop mounted four six-pounders, twelve four-pounders, with twenty-two swivels; carried sixty seamen, and fifty soldiers; and was commanded by Lieutenant Grant of the seventy-seventh. These vessels gave chase to three French sloops, and drove them into a bay on the west shore, where their own crews sunk two of them, and ran the third on shore. But Lieutenant Grant got her off, whilst Captain Loring went in pursuit of a schooner, the only vessel belonging to the French, which now remained on the lake to molest the English.

On the 21st of October, the whole English army arrived at Crown-Point, where the General's first care was bestowed on the fort he had begun. He gave orders for adding to it whatever could contribute to its strength, and for opening of roads to Ticonderoga, the Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, governments. He likewise distributed the troops into winter-quarters,

quarters, in such a manner as to cover that part of the country from the inroads of the enemy. He then, on the 25th of November, after appointing sufficient garrisons for Crown-Point, and other forts, to preserve the communication with Albany, set out for New-York, where he arrived on the 11th of December.

Though the General had been early acquainted with the fate of Niagara, it was the 19th of October before he received the least intelligence of General Wolfe's success before Quebec; and this was by a prisoner, who informed him that Quebec had surrendered on the 18th of September. Some letters, indeed, had passed between him and M. de Montcalm about the settling of a cartel, in which mention was made of General Wolfe's being before that place; but, till the period we have mentioned, he continued an entire stranger to his operations, though he had done his utmost to open a proper channel of intelligence for that purpose.

On the 8th of November, whilst the General was still at Crown-Point, he received the following account of the expedition on which he had sent Major Rogers, against the Indians of Saint François. It was not till the twenty-second day after his departure that the Major came in sight of the place; and, by this time, his party, from various accidents in the march, was reduced to one hundred and forty-two men. However, he reconnoitred the town about eight in the evening, in hopes of discovering an opportunity suitable to his numbers; and, agreeably to his wishes, finding the Indians in a high dance, returned to his party at two, and marched them to within five hundred yards of the town, where he cased them of their packs, and formed them for the attack. At half an hour

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hour after sun-rise the next morning he surpris'd the town, when the inhabitants were all fast asleep, and fell on them so instantaneously, that they had not time to recover themselves and take arms for their defence. Some attempted to get to the waters, and, by that means, make their escape; but they were quickly pursued by about forty of the Major's people, who sunk them and their boats. The remainder, in the mean time, set fire to all the houses except three, in which there was corn, which Major Rogers thought proper to reserve for the use of his party; and the flames consumed many of the Indians, who had concealed themselves in the cellars and lofts. By seven o'clock in the morning, the business was completely over. In this short period the English killed at least two hundred Indians, and took twenty of their women and children; but they brought away but five. The rest were permitted to go where they pleased. Five English captives were likewise delivered from slavery, and taken under the protection of their countrymen; and all this with the loss of only one Indian killed, and Captain Ogden and six men wounded. Major Rogers being informed by his prisoners that a party of three hundred French, with some Indians, were about four miles below him on the river, and that his boats were, besides, way-laid, and having reason to believe this information was true, as they told him the exact number of his boats, and named the place where he left them, he thought proper to consult with his officers concerning a retreat, especially as he had the same reason to believe that a party of two hundred French, and fifteen Indians, had, three days before he attacked the town, gone up the river to Wigwam Martinique, on a supposition of its being the place he intended to attack. The result of this deliberation was, that there was no safe way to
return

return but by No. 4, on the Connecticut river: upon this he marched his detachment that rout for eight days successively, in one body, till, provisions growing scarce, near Amparamagog-Lake, he thought best to divide his people into small parties, giving guides to each, with orders to rendezvous at the discharge of the Amansook river into the Connecticut river, as he there expected to receive a supply of provisions from the army, in consequence of a request he, on his setting out, had made to the General for that purpose; for it was impossible for him, at that time, to tell which way he should be obliged to return. He then continued his march, and arrived at No. 4, on the 5th day of November; fatigue, cold, and hunger, with the continual prospect of starving, being his constant attendants. But great as the sufferings of this party were, they were nothing when compared with those of another, commanded by Lieutenant George Campbell, then of the Rangers. These were, at one time, four days without any kind of sustenance, when some of them, in consequence of their complicated misery, severely aggravated by their not knowing whither the route they pursued would lead, and, of course, the little prospect of relief that was left them, lost their senses; whilst others, who could no longer bear the keen pangs of an empty stomach, attempted to eat their own excrements. What leather they had on their cartouch-boxes, they had already reduced to a cinder, and greedily devoured. At length, on the 28th of October, as they were crossing a small river, which was in some measure dammed up by logs, they discovered some human bodies not only scalped but horribly mangled, which they supposed to be those of some of their own party. But this was not a season for distinctions. On them, accordingly, they fell like Cannibals, and devoured part of them raw; their
impatience

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impatience being too great to wait the kindling of a fire to dress it by. When they had thus abated the excruciating pangs they before endured, they carefully collected the fragments, and carried them off. This was their sole support, except roots and a squirrel, till the 4th of November, when Providence conducted them to a boat on the Connecticut river, which Major Rogers had sent with provisions to their relief, and which rendered tolerable the remainder of their journey to No. 4, where they arrived on the 7th of November.

Having mentioned an attack on the fort of Niagara, as part of the plan of operations for this campaign, and having informed our readers of its being reduced, it is now time we should give the particulars of that transaction. General Amherst, having taken every precaution necessary to insure success to this important attempt, Brigadier Prideaux set out from Schenectady, with the troops to be employed on it, on the 20th of May. These troops consisted of the following regiments:

The Forty-fourth,

The Forty-sixth,

The Fourth Battalion of Royal Americans,

Two Battalions of New-York troops,

A detachment of the Royal Artillery; and

A large body of Indians, under the command of Sir William Johnson.

When Brigadier Prideaux arrived at Oswego, he ordered Colonel Haldimand with a detachment, to remain and erect a tenable fort at that important post. On the 1st of July, the Brigadier embarked his troops on Lake-Ontario, and

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landed

landed them, without meeting any opposition, about six miles east of Niagara. This place, being situated on a narrow peninsula, required no great labour effectually to invest it by land. As soon, therefore, as he could open a communication between the landing-place and the river, he began his approaches, and erected batteries, from which he fired on the defences of the fort; still advancing new works, in proportion as those defences were destroyed. The French, on their side, fully convinced of the importance of the place, exerted themselves in taking every necessary measure to defeat the endeavours of the English to get possession of it. With this view, all the troops they could spare from Detroit, Presque-isle, Venango, and Le-Bœuf, were ordered to assemble at the Rapids, on the east side of Lake-Erie, and make the best of their way to attack the army besieging Niagara, in the rear; while the besieged made a sortie on their front. Brigadier Prideaux, who fortunately received timely intelligence of their designs, made every disposition that was necessary to frustrate them. But he did not live to reap the honours due to his uncommon zeal and abilities. On the evening of the 19th of July, as he was giving directions in the trenches, he was unfortunately killed through the carelessness of a gunner in discharging a cohorn; the shell bursting instantly, as the Brigadier was passing by it. No time was lost in giving General Amherst an account of this accident; and his Excellency, on receiving it, ordered, as we have already seen, Brigadier Gage, from his own army, to succeed him. In the mean time, the command devolved on Sir William Johnson, who continued the attack with the utmost vigour; took every precaution to receive the enemy, if they should attack him; and resolved to give them battle, rather than retreat; not doubting but that the courage and ardour of his troops would court victory to his banners.

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Whilst in these dispositions, he, on the 23d, in the evening, received advice, that the French troops were marching towards him, under the command of M. d'Aubrey, to the amount of about twelve hundred men. Upon this, Sir William ordered his light infantry and picquets to take post on the left, on the road between Niagara Falls and the fort; and then, after reinforcing them with the grenadiers, and another part of the forty-sixth regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Massey, and the forty-fourth regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar, disposed of them to such advantage, as effectually to support the guard left in the trenches.

On the morning of the 24th, the French made their appearance; and the Indians of the English army advanced to speak to those of the French; but the latter declining the conference, the former gave the war-whoop, and the action commenced. The English regulars attacked the French in front, whilst the English Indians gained their flank. This threw the French into great disorder, and the English, seizing so favourable an opportunity with all the eagerness it naturally inspired, charged the French with inexpressible fury, and totally routed them with great slaughter; which continued, without ceasing, till mere fatigue obliged the conquerors to return. But the number of the killed could not be precisely ascertained, their bodies lying so dispersed in the woods.

As the event of this battle, fought in sight of the besieged, might well be supposed sufficient to destroy every hope they entertained of being relieved, Sir William Johnson sent the commandant, M. Pouchot, Captain in the regiment of Bearne, an account of it, by the Honourable Captain Hervey; and summoned him to surrender in consequence of it, whilst he
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yet had in his power to restrain his savages from acts of cruelty. Besides, to leave the commandant no room to doubt his veracity, he permitted several of the officers he had made prisoners on the occasion, to visit him, and confirm it. These wise and humane measures had the desired and deserved effect. M. Pouchot consented to surrender on the following terms:

ARTICLE I. The garrison shall march out with their arms and baggage, drum beating, and match lighted at both ends, and a small piece of cannon, to embark upon such vessels as the commander of his Britannic Majesty's forces shall furnish, to convey them to New-York, by the shortest road, and in the shortest manner.

GRANTED.

II. The garrison shall lay down their arms when they embark; but shall keep their baggage.

GRANTED.

III. The officers shall keep both their arms and their baggage.

GRANTED.

IV. The French ladies, with their children, and other women, as well as the chaplain, shall be sent to Montreal; and the commander of his Britannic Majesty's troops shall furnish them with vessels and subsistence necessary for their voyage to the first French port; and this is to be executed as soon as possible: those women who chuse to follow their husbands, are at liberty to do it.

GRANTED, except with regard to those women who are his Britannic Majesty's subjects.

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- V. The sick and wounded who are obliged to remain in the fort, shall have liberty to depart, with every thing that belongs to them; and shall be conducted in safety, as soon as they are able to support the fatigues of a voyage, to the place destined for the rest of the garrison: in the mean time, they are to be allowed a guard for their security.

GRANTED.

- VI. The commanding officer, all the other officers, and private men, who are in the service of his Most Christian Majesty, shall quit the fort without being subject to any act of reprisals whatsoever.

GRANTED.

- VII. An inventory shall be made of all the military stores in the magazine, which, with the artillery, shall be delivered up, *bona fide*, as well as all other effects, which are the property of his Most Christian Majesty, and which are found in the magazine at the time of the capitulation.

Answer. The vessels and boats are included in this article.

- VIII. The soldiers shall not be plundered, nor separated from their officers.

GRANTED.

- IX. The garrison shall be conducted, under a proper escort, to the place destined for their reception; the General shall expressly recommend to this escort to hinder the savages from approaching and insulting any persons belonging to the garrison, and shall prevent their being pillaged by them, when they quit their arms for embarkation; and the same care is to be taken on every part of the route where savages may be met with.

GRANTED.

X. An

X. An exact list shall be made of the names and surnames of the different troops, as well regulars as militia, and all others who are employed in his Most Christian Majesty's service; and all those who are so employed, shall be treated in the same manner as the rest of the garrison.

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GRANTED in the first article.

XI. All the savages, of whatsoever nation they be, who are found in the garrison, shall be protected from insult, and be allowed to go where they please.

GRANTED; but it will be advisable for them to depart as privately as possible.

These articles being accepted, the General of his Britannic Majesty's forces shall be put in possession of a gate of the fort; but this cannot be done until to-morrow at seven o'clock in the morning.

Niagara,
25th July, 1759.

POUTHOT, Captain in the
regiment of Bearne.

WM. JOHNSON

The next day, accordingly, the garrison, which consisted of about six hundred men, marched to the side of the lake, with the honours of war; and there laid down their arms, and embarked on board the vessels provided to transport them, by the nearest route, to New-York, agreeable to the capitulation. The French ladies, and other French women who had followed their army, were, at their own request, conducted to Montreal.

Though this siege was severe, it was not attended with any considerable loss, except that of Brigadier Prideaux and

Colonel

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Colonel Johnson of the Provincials. When the command devolved on Sir William Johnson, he pursued the late Brigadier's vigorous measures; and, as his adopting them so readily did great honour to his modesty, so the happy event contributed equally to display his good sense and sound judgment.

This most important post of Niagara, the strongest the French possessed in this part of America, being now in the hands of the English, there was no room to fear any great resistance from the forts of Presque-Isle, Venango, and le Bœuf; especially considering how much their garrisons must have been weakened by the draughts made from them to assist the French army in their late unsuccessful attack of the 24th. Accordingly, Colonel Bouquet, who was detached from Brigadier Stanwix's army, for that purpose, had scarce any thing to do, but appear before them, to oblige the French to surrender.

We must now for a moment, return to Colonel Haldimand, who, as we have already mentioned, had been left at Oswego by Brigadier Prideaux. In the forenoon of the 5th of July, whilst he was executing the orders left him by the Brigadier, the Indian howl was heard, and word was brought by some scouts he had sent out upon the lake, that they had discovered about one hundred boats. Between eleven and twelve, some Indians and Canadians appeared round the place by land, and made a shew of attacking two redoubts, which he had thrown up to strengthen it; but he soon drove them off, into the woods. From thence, however, they continued to fire till sun-set; but kept quiet all night. In the mean time a deserter of the French *corps de marine* came
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in, and gave intelligence, that M. de la Corne commanded the party, consisting of about three hundred of the *corps de marine*, thirteen hundred Canadians, and one hundred and fifty Indians; and that la Corne had hopes of surprising the post: that the Abbé Piquet marched at the head of these troops till they began the attack, encouraging them, from the prospect of plunder they were to get, to give no quarter. The night, however, passed without any alarm. At day-break, the Indians made their appearance again; and, by half an hour after seven, most of them marched to the left of the English, as if they intended to attack the intrenchment: but two pieces of cannon, loaded with grape, seconded by the musketry, drove them back again very speedily. They, then, no less than three times, endeavoured to set fire to the boats; but all to no purpose. In these several attacks, the English had two men killed; and Captain Sowers, the Engineer, Lieutenant Otter of the Royal Americans, and eleven private, wounded. The French buried their dead; and took off their wounded; as appeared by the blood which could be traced to the batteaus. But the number was soon known by six deserters of the *corps de marine*, all Germans. By their report, an officer of the *corps de marine* was killed; the Commandant of *la Gallette*, another officer, and about twenty private men, were wounded. M. de la Corne got as little honour as intelligence by this attack; for he neither made a prisoner, or got a scalp, though the deserters declared that he offered a thousand livres for one.

As to the Abbé Piquet, who distinguished himself so much by his brutal zeal, as he did not expose himself to any danger, he received no injury; and he yet lives, justly despised to such a degree by every one who knows any thing of his past conduct.

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conduct in America, that scarce any officer will admit him to his table. However repugnant it must be to every idea of honour and humanity, not to give quarter to an enemy when subdued; it must be infinitely more so, not to spare women and children. Yet such had often been the objects of the Abbé Piquet's cruel advice, enforced by the most barbarous examples, especially in the English settlements on the back of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

We have still to relate the proceedings of Brigadier Stanwix, as part of the plan of operations immediately under the direction of the Commander in chief. He was ordered to Fort-Pitt, with a battalion of Royal Americans commanded by Colonel Bouquet, three battalions of Provincials, and some Indians, to attack the forts Venango, le Bœuf, and Presque-Isle; and likewise receive the submission of the Indians inhabiting that part of the country. He reached Fort-Pitt without any obstruction; and detached Colonel Bouquet to possess himself of the above posts, which he did without any great difficulty; the greater part of their garrisons, as we have already observed, having been detached with a view of raising the siege of Niagara; and, unfortunately for them, fallen in that attempt.

The Brigadier put Fort-Pitt and Fort-Ligonier into a good state of defence; and having attached some Indians to the interest of the English, returned to his former post. Venango and le Bœuf were well garrisoned, and likewise Presque-Isle. Detroit was the only fort of any consequence which the French still retained upon the Lake-Erie, and its garrison were exposed to the perpetual danger of perishing; as every communication, by which they could receive provisions, was entirely destroyed by the reduction of the above forts.

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B O O K VI.

Expedition against Quebec.—Forces employed in it.—Previous dispositions to insure success.—The English troops land on the island of Orleans, in the river St. Lawrence.—General Wolfe's manifesto.—Strength of the French.—An attempt made by them to destroy the English fleet by fire-ships—defeated.—A sally made by them to destroy the first works of the English—repulsed.—The English prepare to attack the French troops covering the town.—The French again attempt to destroy the English fleet by fire-rafts.—The English attack the French—are repulsed.—Orders issued by General Wolfe.—General Wolfe falls sick.—His letter, on the occasion, to the Brigadiers—and their answer.—Battle of Quebec.—General Wolfe and M. de Montcalm killed.—The town invested—capitulates—the articles.—Reflections on the foregoing events.—Honours paid the conquerors by their King and country—and to M. de Montcalm by the French army.—The Cherokees ravage the frontiers of South-Carolina—are compelled to make a peace, by Mr. Lyttelton, governor of that province.—Articles of the peace.

WE shall now proceed to give a detail of the campaign against Quebec, the success of which, in some measure, depended upon the operations of General Amherst, either by

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his engaging the attention of a great part of the forces that might otherwise be employed to defend that place, or by his penetrating to the assistance of General Wolfe, who was to attack it. In the course of this expedition, we shall have occasion to admire the most undaunted resolution combined with the calmest perseverance, amidst an unusual variety of opposition, arising from the peculiar situation of the country, and the great abilities of M. de Montcalm, who was charged with its defence.

About the middle of February, a considerable squadron sailed from England to Louisbourg, where the fleet and the troops designed for the expedition up the river St. Lawrence were to rendezvous; and arrived off that place on the 21st of April. But the harbour was still so blocked up with ice, that there was no entering it. The squadron, therefore, of which Admiral Saunders was commander in chief, assisted by Admirals Durell and Holmes, steered for Halifax in Nova-Scotia; where being arrived, the whole fleet at that place consisted of the following ships of the line:

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
The Neptune -	90	Admiral Saunders
Princess Amelia	80	Durell
Dublin - -	74	Holmes
Royal William	84	Captain Pigot
Shrewsbury	74	Palliser
Northumberland	70	Lord Colville
Orford - -	64	Spry
Somerfet -	68	Hughes
Vanguard -	74	Swanton

Terrible

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
The Terrible - -	64	Captain Collins
Trident - -	64	Legge
Alcide - -	64	Douglass
Devonshire -	74	Gordon
Captain - -	70	Amherst
Stirling-castle	64	Everet
Prince of Orange	60	Wallis
Medway -	60	Proby
Pembroke -	60	Wheelock
Bedford -	68	Fowkes
Centurion -	60	Mantle
Sutherland -	50	Rouse
Prince Frederick	64	Booth

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These capital ships were accompanied by an equal number of frigates, and small armed vessels.

The land-forces on this service consisted of

The fifteenth regiment	-	-	Amherst's
twenty-eighth	-	-	Bragg's
thirty-fifth	-	-	Otway's
forty-third	-	-	Kennedy's
forty-seventh	-	-	Lascelles's
forty-eighth	-	-	Webb's
fifty-eighth	-	-	Anstruther's
seventy-eighth	-	-	Frazer's
Royal Americans	{ second battalion		Monckton's
	{ third battalion		Lawrence's

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Three companies of rangers; a detachment of the Royal Artillery; and a brigade of engineers.

The whole commanded by Major-General James Wolfe.

The other general and staff officers of the army were as follows:

The Honourable Colonels $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Monckton} \\ \text{Townshend} \\ \text{Murray} \end{array} \right\}$ Brigadiers-General.

Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton, Quarter-Master-General.

Captains Caldwell and Leslie, assistants to the Quarter-Master-General.

Major Barré, Adjutant-General; and

Major Mackeller, Chief Engineer.

The regiments were formed into three brigades:

First brigade. Brigadier Monckton.

Fifteenth

Forty-third

Forty-eighth

Seventy-eighth

Second brigade. Brigadier Townshend.

Twenty-eighth

Forty-seventh

Second battalion of the sixtieth

Third brigade. Brigadier Murray.

Thirty-fifth

Fifty-eighth

Third battalion of the sixtieth

The grenadiers of the army were formed into a corps, under the command of Colonel Carleton; a detachment, called the *Louisbourg Grenadiers*, were to receive their orders from Lieutenant-Colonel Murray; the honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Howe had a detachment of light infantry under his command; and Major Dalling, another corps of the same troops. Major Scott headed the rangers.

Before Admiral Saunders left England, he had received intelligence, that the French would endeavour to throw into Quebec a reinforcement of troops, ammunition, and other stores. He therefore ordered Admiral Durell, with a small squadron, to sail up the river St. Lawrence, and intercept any supplies intended for Quebec. Admiral Durell picked up two store-ships; but seventeen had arrived too soon for him, with recruits, provisions, and military stores, under the convoy of three frigates.

From Halifax, Admiral Saunders proceeded to Louisbourg, as soon as the ice would permit him to enter that harbour. Here, in conjunction with the General, he made such dispositions as were necessary for the prosecution of the intended enterprize against Quebec. Every possible precaution was taken by the Admiral to prevent any accidents that might happen to his ships in their progress up the river of St. Lawrence; the navigation of which the French had artfully represented as very dangerous. But had it been really so, the wise precautions of the Admiral, by posting vessels near every place there was any reason to suppose dangerous, would have procured safety to the fleet, as long as his order of sailing should be observed.

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Though the ships began to sail out of Louisbourg harbour the 1st of June, it was the 6th before they had all cleared it. The Admiral then steered for Quebec; and on the 26th, arrived without the least accident off the island of Orleans, where the troops were landed the next day. This island is situated a little below Quebec. It is fertile, and well cultivated, and produces great plenty of grain. Immediately after the troops were landed, there came on a very heavy gale of wind, by which many anchors and small boats were lost, and the transports sustained much damage, by driving the one against the other.

On the 28th, General Wolfe published a manifesto, setting forth, "That the King his master, justly exasperated against the French Monarch, had equipped a large armament to reduce the most considerable French settlements in America; but that it was not on the industrious peasants, their wives, and children, nor against the ministers of religion, that he intended to make war; on the contrary, he lamented the misery to which they must be exposed by the quarrel, and, therefore, he offered them his protection, and promised to maintain them in the enjoyment of their temporal possessions, as well as in the free exercise of their religion; provided they would remain quiet, and take no part in the difference between the two crowns. That, as the English were masters of the river St. Lawrence, so as to be able to intercept all succours from Europe; and as they had besides a powerful army, under the command of General Amherst, the resolution which they ought on this occasion to take, was neither difficult nor doubtful, as the utmost exertion of their valour would be useless, and serve only to deprive them of the advantages, which they might reap from their neutrality. He then mentioned the

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cruelties exercised by the French, which he said would authorise the most severe reprisals; but that Britons were too generous to follow such barbarous examples. He again offered to the Canadians the sweets of peace amidst the horrors of war; and left to themselves to determine their own fate by their own conduct; expressing his hopes that the world would do him justice, should they oblige him, by rejecting these favourable terms, to adopt violent measures. He concluded, by representing to them the power, as well as the generosity of Great Britain, who thus stretched out the hand of humanity, and offered her assistance, when France was, by her weakness, compelled to abandon them in the most critical conjuncture."

This declaration had no effect. Every peasant exerted his utmost endeavours to be useful to his country. They either served in the army, or furnished it with provisions. Not content with this, they committed the most cruel hostilities, by scalping all those who fell in their way. General Wolfe exerted himself to put a stop to this inhuman practice, by representing these cruelties to M. de Montcalm, as contrary to the rules of war observed by all civilized nations. But the French General's authority was not sufficient to bridle the bloody disposition of the savages; and General Wolfe, in order to intimidate them, was obliged to connive at some irregularities by way of retaliation.

M. de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops, had greatly added to the natural strength of the country, by intrenching every accessible place; and seemed to put more confidence in his situation than in the number of his troops, though superior to that of the invaders. He had, likewise, thrown into
Quebec

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Quebec five battalions of regulars, completed from the best inhabitants of the country. Some of the troops of the colony, and every Canadian able to bear arms, with several nations of savages, had taken the field, in a very advantageous situation; and encamped, along the shore of Beauport, from the river St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorenci.

The Admiral having conceived some suspicion, that the enemy had artillery and a force upon the point of Levi; he communicated it to the General, who, thereupon, detached Brigadier Monckton, with four battalions, to drive them from thence. With this view, the Brigadier passed the river on the 29th at night; and marching next day to the Point, obliged the enemy's irregulars to retire, and possessed himself of that post, after skirmishing a little with the Canadians and the Indians, without any material loss. But the Brigadier found no cannon or batteries, as was supposed to be erected on this spot. Colonel Carleton marched, also, with a detachment to the westernmost part of the isle of Orleans, from whence there was some reason to think the operations would commence.

On the Point of Levi were now erected, though not without great difficulty, batteries of mortars and cannon, to fire the magazines, demolish the works, and silence the batteries of the town. It was incumbent on the English to make themselves masters of, and fortify these two Points, were it only because the French, from either one or the other of them, could easily render it impossible for any ship to lie in the basin of Quebec, or even within two miles of it.

M. de Montcalm, well aware of the advantage which these works would give to the English, by the time he judged they

were in some forwardness, ordered sixteen hundred men to cross the river and destroy them. But this detachment fell into disorder, fired upon each other, and made a precipitate retreat; which, in all appearance, however, prevented their being entirely cut off. These batteries were not long finished, when they justified M. de Montcalm's fears; they did considerable damage to the upper town, though the fire was across the river. As to the lower town, it was entirely destroyed by them.

In the mean time the fleet had been exposed to the most imminent danger. The enemy, judging that the storm on the 28th must create great confusion, prepared seven fire-ships to take advantage of it; and at midnight sent them down from Quebec among the transports. But this scheme, though well contrived, was intirely defeated by the seasonable orders of the Admiral, and the boldness and dexterity of the seamen, who towed the fire-ships a-ground, where they burnt to the water's edge, without doing the least injury to any part of the squadron.

The works, for the security of the hospitals and stores on the island of Orleans, being now finished, the army, in the night of the 9th of July, passed the north channel; and encamped near the enemy's left, the river Montmorency lying between them. The next morning Danks's company of Rangers, who were posted in a wood to cover some workmen, were attacked and entirely defeated by a body of Indians; who, however, suffered considerably in this affair, and were, in their turn, repulsed by the nearest troops.

The General had conceived some hopes of engaging M. de Montcalm upon more equal terms than those of directly attacking him in his intrenchments; for the ground to the eastward of

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the Falls seemed to him to be, as it really is, higher than that on the enemy's side ; and from thence he thought some advantage might be derived. There is also a ford below the Falls, which may be passed, for some hours, in the latter part of the ebb, and the beginning of the flood tide ; and there was some reason to believe, that other means might be found to pass the river above the Falls. But though, in reconnoitring the river, a ford was discovered about three miles up, the opposite bank was so steep and woody, and so well intrenched, that any attempt to pass at that place must have proved ineffectual. The detachment sent to reconnoitre it, was twice attacked by the Indians, but they were easily repulsed. These rencounters, however, lost the English forty private men, besides some officers killed and wounded.

The General now determined to reconnoitre the country above the town. For this purpose, on the 18th of July, the Admiral ordered two men of war, two armed sloops, and two transports, which had some troops on board, to run up the river ; these passed by the town, and got into the upper river without any loss, except that of the *Diana*, who ran ashore upon the rocks of Point-Levi : but here the enemy had used the same precautions as in the lower, and the difficulties occasioned by them were greatly increased by that of communicating with the flats, and by the nature of the ground. But the most forbidding circumstance was, a well grounded apprehension that, if the General should attempt a landing between the town and Cape-Rouge, the body first landed would be attacked by the enemy's whole army, before any more troops could be put ashore to support it.

These mighty obstacles, however, were not sufficient to deter the General from forming a plan for landing at St. Michael's,

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chael's, about three miles above the town. But having discovered that the enemy, jealous of the design, had actually brought artillery and a mortar to play upon the shipping, and judging that, as it must be many hours before they could be attacked by his troops, even supposing that a favourable night should carry the boats unhurt beyond the reach of the town, he dropt the design as rather too hazardous. However, to divide the enemy's force, draw their attention as high up the river as possible, and at the same time procure some intelligence, he ordered Colonel Carleton, with a detachment, to land at the *Point-aux-Trembles*, to attack whatever he might find there, and bring off some prisoners, and all the useful papers that he could; for information had been received, that several of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired to that place; and this was a circumstance which rendered it not improbable, that a magazine of provisions had been formed there.

Colonel Carleton was fired upon by a party of Indians the moment he landed; but he soon dispersed, and drove them into the woods. He then searched for magazines; but all to no purpose. However he brought off some prisoners, and returned with little loss.

The General now came to Montmorency, where Brigadier Townshend had, by a superior fire, prevented the French from erecting a battery on the banks of the river, from whence they intended to cannonade the English camp.

But as General Wolfe had not yet been fortunate enough to discover any spot where the difficulties were less, he resolved, at all events, to seize the first opportunity which presented itself of attacking the enemy, however advantageously they might be posted, and how well soever they might be prepared to receive him.

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The men of war could not get near enough to the enemy's trenches to annoy them, for want of a sufficient depth of water. The Admiral, therefore, prepared two transports that drew but little, to be run a-ground, if occasion required it, and thereby favour the descent. With the assistance of these vessels, which the General understood would be carried in close to the shore, he proposed to make himself master of a detached redoubt, close to the water's edge, which appeared to be out of musket-shot of the intrenchment upon the hill. If the enemy offered to support this work, it would bring on what he most wanted, an engagement; and if it did not, it would at least afford the means of discovering their situation, with sufficient precision to determine where it was most eligible to attack them.

Whilst preparations were accordingly making for an engagement, on the 28th of July, at midnight, the French sent down a raft of fire stages, consisting of near an hundred radeaux, which succeeded no better than the fire-ships. Things being in readiness for the service in agitation, on the last day of July, in the forenoon, the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of Brigadier Monckton's brigade, from the Point of Levi. The two brigades, under the Brigadiers Murray and Townshend, were ordered to be in readiness to pass the ford, when it should be thought necessary; and the Admiral placed the Centurion in the channel, in order to facilitate their passage by checking the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the ford. This was a happy thought; her fire being extremely well directed, answered every purpose that could be expected from it. A numerous train of artillery was besides placed on the eminence, to batter and enfilade the left of the enemy's intrenchments. The two transports were then

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run a-ground; and that which was farthest upon the shore, afforded the General an opportunity of observing, that the redoubt was too much commanded, to be kept without very great loss. For the two armed ships could not be brought near enough to cover it, as was at first supposed, with their artillery and musketry at the same time.

These previous measures, however, having thrown the enemy into some confusion, the General, who was prepared for an action, thought it no bad opportunity to make an attempt upon their intrenchment. He therefore sent orders to the brigadiers-general, to be ready with the corps under their command; Brigadier Monckton to land, and the Brigadiers Townshend and Murray to pass the ford.

At a proper time of the tide, the signal was made for this purpose; but many of the boats, in rowing towards the shore, grounded on a ridge of rocks, that ran out a considerable distance into the river. This accident caused some disorder, and so much loss of time, that the General was obliged to stop the march of Brigadier Townshend's brigade, which he perceived to be in motion. During the time it took the seamen to get off the boats, the enemy fired a vast number of shot and shells; but they did little damage. The grounded boats being set afloat, the whole were soon ranged in a proper manner; and some of the navy-officers accompanied the General to discover a better place to land at. They took with them a flat-bottomed boat to make the experiment; and as soon as they had found what they wanted, the General ordered the troops to disembark, thinking it not yet too late for the attempt.

Thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred of the second battalion of the Royal Americans, got first on shore. The
grenadiers

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grenadiers had orders to form themselves into four distinct bodies, and to begin the attack, supported by Brigadier Monckton's corps, as soon as the troops should have passed the ford, and were near enough to assist them. But, whether from the noise and hurry of landing, or from some other cause, the grenadiers, instead of forming themselves as they were directed, ran on impetuously towards the enemy's intrenchments, in the utmost disorder and confusion, without waiting for the corps which was to support them, and join in the attack. Brigadier Monckton was not yet landed; and Brigadier Townshend was still at a considerable distance from them, though upon his march to join them in very good order. The grenadiers were checked by the enemy's first fire, and were obliged to shelter themselves in or about the redoubt, which the French abandoned at their approach. In this situation they continued some time, unable to form under so hot a fire; and many gallant officers, careless of their persons, having been wounded, it became necessary to call them off, that they might form behind Brigadier Monckton's corps, which was now landed, and drawn up on the beach in extreme good order.

By this new accident, and the second delay occasioned thereby, it was near night before any more could be done; and then a sudden storm came on, and the tide began to make; so that the General thought it most advisable not to persevere in so difficult an attack; particularly as, in case of a repulse, the retreat of Brigadier Townshend's corps might become hazardous and uncertain.

The artillery had great effect upon the enemy's left, which Brigadiers Townshend and Murray were to have attacked; and it is very probable, that, had it not been for the above accidents, the English would have penetrated there; and
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their left and center being more remote from their artillery, would have borne all the violence of the French musketry.

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The enemy made no attempt to interrupt this retreat. But the savages, agreeable to their custom, came down, and murdered such of the wounded as could not be got off, and scalped the dead. Among the wounded who escaped their cruel hands, was Lieutenant Peyton of the Royal Americans; whose case, for the singularity of it, deserves to be particularly mentioned. Being providentially provided with a double-barrelled fusil, though not able to stir from the spot where he lay, he killed two of the savages as they were advancing to execute their horrid purpose; and, before others could come up, he was taken off the field by a Highlander, and laid down in a boat which was ready to put off.

In this attack the English had upwards of four hundred killed and wounded. Amongst the former, were two captains and two lieutenants; and, amongst the latter, Colonel Burton, six captains, and twenty-two subalterns. The two transports that had been run ashore, were ordered to be burnt, to prevent their becoming a prize to the enemy. The advantages which induced the General to make his attack at this place rather than any other, were, that here artillery could be brought into use; the greatest part, or even the whole of the troops, might act at once; and the retreat, in case of a repulse, was secure, at least till a certain time of the tide: advantages which could not be found any where else. But, to balance them, the beach upon which the troops were drawn up, was covered with a deep mud, full of holes, and intersected with many gullies; the hill to be ascended was steep, and not every where practicable; the enemy numerous in their intrenchments, from whence they kept up a heavy fire. The loss, therefore, even had the attack succeeded, must have

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have been very great; and, from the shelter which the neighbouring woods would have afforded the enemy, theirs would have been very inconsiderable. Besides, the river of St. Charles was yet to pass, before the town could be invested.

Soldiers, in general, have the honour of their regiment, or the corps in which they serve, greatly at heart. The censure or praise bestowed on it, has therefore a particular effect on their imaginations; although every individual may not perhaps feel the sting of reproach, yet, as a body, they seldom betray a want of sensibility. This no one was better acquainted with than General Wolfe. He, therefore, the next day, issued the following order: "The check which the grenadiers met with yesterday, will, it is hoped, be a lesson to them for the time to come. Such impetuous, irregular, and unfoldier-like proceedings, destroy all order, and put it out of the General's power to execute his plan. The grenadiers could not suppose, that they alone could beat the French army; therefore it was necessary the corps under Brigadiers Townshend and Monckton should have time to join them, that the attack might be general. The very first fire of the enemy was sufficient to have repulsed men who had lost all sense of order and military discipline. Amherst's and the Highland regiment alone, by the soldier-like and cool manner in which they formed, would undoubtedly have beaten back the whole Canadian army, if they had ventured to attack them. The loss, however, is very inconsiderable, and may be easily repaired, when a favourable opportunity offers, if the men will shew a proper attention to their officers."

Immediately after this check, twelve hundred men, under the command of Brigadier Murray, were detached above the town, to attempt, in conjunction with Admiral Holmes, to destroy

stroy the French ships, if they could be got at, in order to open a communication with General Amherst. Brigadier Murray was ordered, at the same time, to seek every favourable opportunity of engaging some of the enemy's detachments on tolerable terms; and even use all the means in his power to provoke them to attack him. The Brigadier, after making two different attempts to land on the north shore, without success, made a third attempt, unexpectedly, at de Chambaud, where he burnt some spare clothing belonging to the French troops.

The enemy's ships being secured in such a manner as not to be approached, and no other object presenting itself to induce Brigadier Murray's longer stay, he returned to the camp with some prisoners, who were the first to inform the English of the surrender of Niagara. It was likewise discovered, by intercepted letters, that the enemy had abandoned Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, and retired to the Isle-Aux-Noix; and that General Amherst was making preparations to pass the Lake-Champlain to fall on M. Bourlemaque's corps, which consisted of three battalions, and as many Canadians as made the whole amount to near three thousand men.

In the mean time, the General exerted his endeavours to retrieve the loss he had sustained at Montmorenci, but the bodily fatigues he had endured, increased a disorder with which he had been afflicted even from his first leaving England, and this bringing on a fever, he was thereby totally disabled. He therefore wrote the following letter to the brigadiers:

Major-General Wolfe's Letter to the Brigadiers.

" That the public service may not suffer by the General's indisposition, he begs the Brigadiers will meet and consult together for the public utility and advantage, and consider of the best method to attack the enemy.

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" If the French army be attacked and defeated, the General concludes, that the town would immediately surrender; because he does not find they have any provision in the place.

" The General is of opinion, that the army should be attacked in preference to the place, because of the difficulties of penetrating from the lower to the upper town; in which attempt, neither the guns of the shipping, nor of our own batteries, could be of much use.

" There appears to be three methods of attacking the army:

" *First*, In dry weather, a large detachment may march in a day and a night, so as to arrive at Beauport (fording the Montmorenci eight or nine miles up) before day in the morning. It is likely they would be discovered upon this march on both sides of the river.—If such a detachment penetrates to the entrenchments, and the rest of the troops are ready, the consequence is plain.

" *Second*, If the troops encamped here pass the ford with the falling water, and in the night march on directly towards the point of Beauport, the light infantry have a good chance to get up the Woody-hill; trying different places, and moving quick to the right, would soon discover a proper place for the rest. The upper redoubt must be attacked, and kept by a company of grenadiers. Brigadier Monckton must be ready, off the point of Beauport, to land where our people get up the hill; for which signals may be appointed.

" *Third*, All the chosen troops of the army may attack at Beauport at low water. A diversion must be made across the ford an hour before the second attack.

" *N. B.* For the first attack, it is sufficient if the water begins to fall a little before day-light, or about it. For the other two, it will be best to have it low water half an hour before day.

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“ The General thinks the country should be ruined and destroyed as much as can be done consistent with a more capital operation. There are guides in the army for the detachment in question.”

The Brigadiers immediately assembled in consequence of this letter; and having deliberated on it, returned the following answer:

Point-Levi, August 29, 1759.

“ Having met this day, in consequence of General Wolfe's desire, to consult together for the public utility and advantage, and to consider of the best method of attacking the enemy, and having read his Majesty's private instructions which the General was pleased to communicate to us, and having considered some propositions of his with respect to our future operations, we think it our duty to offer our opinion as follows:

“ The natural strength of the enemy's situation between the rivers St. Charles and Montmorenci, now improved by all the art of their engineers, makes the defeat of their army, if attacked there, very doubtful. The advantage which their easy communication along the shore, gives over our attack from boats, and by the ford of the river Montmorenci, is evident from late experience; and it appears to us that that part of the army which is proposed to march through the woods, nine miles up the Montmorenci, to surprise their camp, is exposed to certain discovery, and consequently to the disadvantage of a constant wood fight; but allowing that we could get footing on the Beauport side, the Marquis de Montcalm will still have it in his power to dispute the passage of the river St. Charles, till the place is supplied with provisions from the ships and magazines above, from which it appears they draw their subsistence.

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" We therefore are of opinion, that the most probable method of striking an effectual blow, is to bring the troops to the south shore, and to carry the operations above the town.

" If we can establish ourselves on the north shore, the Marquis de Montcalm must fight us on our own terms; we are between him and his provision, and between him and the army opposing General Amherst.

" If he gives us battle and we defeat him, Quebec, and probably all Canada, will be our own, which is beyond any advantage we can expect by the Beauport side; and should the enemy pass over the river St. Charles with force sufficient to oppose this operation, we may still, with more ease and probability of success, execute the General's third proposition, (which is in our opinion the most eligible) or undertake any thing else on the Beauport shore, necessarily weakened by the detachments made to oppose us above the town.

(Signed)

Brigadiers { MONCKTON.
TOWNSHEND.
MURRAY."

This plan of operations being approved of by the General, preparations were immediately begun to carry it into execution.

The Admiral and the General had already reconnoitred the town with a view to a general assault; but, after consulting with the chief Engineer, who was well acquainted with its interior part, it appeared, that, though the batteries of the lower town might be easily silenced by the men of war, the business of an assault could be but little forwarded by such success; since the few passages that lead from the lower to the upper town were carefully intrenched, and that the ships must be content to receive great damage from the shot and bombs of the upper batteries, without making the least impression on them. The enemy besides, to the uncommon strength of the

country, had added, for the defence of the river, a great number of floating batteries and boats; and as to any thoughts of surprising them, their vigilance, together with the alertness of the Indians, who kept continually hovering round the English army, rendered it impossible. Seldom a day passed, that these savages did not skirmish with the English; and though they were always beaten, yet it was often at a considerable expence. Such an uncommon combination of circumstances, which left nothing but a choice of difficulties, was sufficient to perplex and distress the most able commander.

In consequence of the resolution taken to quit the camp at Montmorenci, the troops and artillery there were reembarked and landed at Point-Levi; and it being likewise determined to carry on the operations above the town, the General, after securing the post there, and at the isle of Orleans, marched with the remainder of the forces from Point-Levi the 5th and 6th of September, and embarked them in transports which had passed the town for that purpose. On the 7th, 8th, and 9th, Admiral Holmes with the ships sailed up the river, in order to amuse the enemy now posted along the north shore. But the transports being extremely crowded, and the weather very bad, the General thought proper to cantoon half his troops on the south shore, in order to refresh them: in the mean time he was wholly employed in reconnoitring: at length he discovered a small path leading from the river side up a steep precipice, at the summit of which it appeared that the enemy had a post, but by their number of tents, which did not exceed a dozen, it was judged the strength of it could not be more than one hundred men; the General therefore determined, if possible, to land on this spot: preparations were accordingly made for this purpose the day and night preceding the attack, and the Admiral, to engage the attention of the enemy, caused many buoys to be laid, and employed a number of boats in sound-
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ing the Beauport coast, to create a suspicion that it was intended to land on that shore.

On the 13th, at one in the morning, the light infantry commanded by Colonel Howe, the regiments of Bragg, Kennedy, Lascelles, and Anstruther, with a detachment of Highlanders and American grenadiers, the whole under the command of Brigadier Monckton, were put into the flat-bottomed boats, about three leagues above the intended landing-place; and, after some feints made by the ships, under the immediate direction of Admiral Holmes, to draw off the attention of the enemy above, the boats fell down with the tide: the ships followed them about three quarters of an hour afterwards, and got to the landing-place just at the time that had been concerted to cover the landing. The troops landed on the north shore, within a league of Cape-Diamond, an hour before day-break. The rapidity of the tide of ebb having carried them a little below the intended place of attack, the light infantry were obliged to scramble up a woody precipice in order to secure the landing of the rest of the troops, by dislodging the men at the before mentioned post, which defended the small intrenched path they were to ascend. After a little firing, the light infantry gained the top of the precipice, and dispersed the guard; by which means the rest of the troops got up, and were formed with very little loss from the opposition of a few Canadians and Indians in the wood. The boats, as fast as they were emptied, were sent back for the second embarkation, which was immediately made by Brigadier Townshend. Brigadier Murray, who had been detached, with Anstruther's battalion, to attack a four-gun battery on the left, was recalled by the General, who now saw the French army crossing the river St. Charles, and thereupon began to form his line, having his right covered by the Louisbourg grenadiers; on the right of these again he afterwards brought Otway's; to the left,

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were Bragg's, Kennedy's, Lafcelles', the Highlanders, and Anstruther's. The right of this body was commanded by Brigadier Monckton, and the left by Brigadier Murray. His rear and his left were protected by Colonel Howe's light-infantry; the Colonel being returned from the four-gun battery before-mentioned, which had been taken possession of by part of Anstruther's. M. de Montcalm having, as he advanced, discovered an intention to flank the left of the English, Brigadier Townshend was immediately ordered there with General Amherst's battalion, which he formed *en potence*. His numbers were soon after increased by the arrival of the two battalions of Royal Americans. Webb's was drawn up by the General as a reserve, in eight subdivisions, with large intervals. The French lined the bushes in their front with fifteen hundred Indians and Canadians, and amongst them most of their best marksmen, and by means of them kept up a very galling, though irregular fire, on the whole line, who bore it with the greatest patience and good order, reserving theirs for the main body now advancing. This fire was, however, checked by the front posts of the English, which protected the forming of their line. The right of the enemy was composed of the troops of the colony, the battalions of la Saare, Languedoc; and the remainder of their Canadians and Indians. Their center moved on in a line; but as it advanced, accidentally gained the appearance of a column. It consisted of the battalions of Bearne and Guienne. Their left was formed of the remaining troops of the colony, and the battalion of Royal Roussillon. They brought up two pieces of small artillery. The English had been able to bring up but one gun. But as it was admirably well served, it galled the French troops exceedingly. The attack of the French was very smart and brisk to the right. The English troops reserved their fire till the French came within forty yards of them; and then gave it so heavily, and con-

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tinued it so smartly, that the French every where gave way. It was now that the General fell, at the head of Bragg's, and Colonel Carleton received a desperate wound on his head; some time after, whilst the Louisbourg grenadiers were advancing with their bayonets fixed, Brigadier Monckton was shot through the body at the head of Lafcelles'. In the front of the opposite battalions fell also M. de Montcalm; his second in command was likewise wounded, and afterwards died on board an English ship. Part of the French made a second, but faint, attack. Part took to some thick copse-wood, and made such an effectual stand, as covered the retreat of the rest of the French army. At this moment, each particular corps of the English seemed in a manner to rival each other, with a view to its own peculiar character. The grenadiers, Bragg's and Lafcelles', pressed on with their bayonets. Brigadier Murray, advancing briskly with the troops under his command, completed the rout on this side. The Highlanders, then, supported by Anstruther's, took to their broad swords, and drove part of the French into the town, and part to the works at their bridge on the river St. Charles.

The action on the left and in the center of the English was not so severe. The houses into which their light-infantry were thrown, were well defended by them, as they were supported by Colonel Howe, who, taking post with two companies behind a small copse, and frequently falling upon the flanks of the enemy during their attack, drove them often into heaps, and Brigadier Townshend, by advancing platoons of Amherst's regiment against the front of this body, totally prevented the right wing from executing their first intention. Before this, one of the Royal American battalions had been detached to preserve the communication with the boats, and the other, to occupy the ground which Brigadier Murray's movement had left open. Brigadier Townshend remained
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with Amherst's to maintain this disposition, and keep in awe the right of the French, and a body of their savages, who waited still more towards the rear of the English, opposite the posts of their light infantry, for an opportunity to fall upon it. Things were in this situation, when the command in chief devolved on Brigadier Townshend, who thereupon immediately repaired to the center; and, finding that some of the troops were in disorder, occasioned by their pursuit of the enemy, formed them again as soon as possible. A corps of cavalry, light infantry, and grenadiers, commanded by M. de Bougainville, was still drawn up in the rear of the English army. This corps consisted of about two thousand men, and was intended to march along the shore abreast with the boats of the English, to prevent their landing if possible; but the current of the river hurried down the boats with so much rapidity, that the troops were disembarked, before the French could arrive. But Brigadier Townshend did not think it prudent to quit his advantageous situation, and risk the promising advantages of the day by seeking a fresh enemy, posted, perhaps, in the very kind of ground he might have wished for, which was woods and swamps. The loss of the English in this memorable action was fifty-seven killed, and six hundred and seven wounded. The French had near fifteen hundred, chiefly regulars, killed, wounded, and made prisoners; among the prisoners were some officers, taken on the field of battle. M. de Montcalm died of his wounds; and the Brigadiers de Senefergue and de Saint Ours were killed. The French, besides, lost one piece of cannon.

As soon as the action was over, Brigadier Townshend redoubled his camp beyond insult; made a road up the precipice for the cannon and artillery; constructed batteries

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against the town; and cut off its communication with the country. But, on the 17th, at noon, two or three days before any of these batteries could be ready to play, he received by a flag of truce proposals of capitulation from the Governor, and then sent them back again with his answer, and a message, purporting, That unless he received a satisfactory reply in four hours, he should listen to no farther treaty. Admiral Saunders had, by this time, brought his large ships to bear on the town, as if he intended to attack it. This was another spur to the French to come to some speedy determination: and on the 18th accordingly, the same officer who had brought the Governor's proposals, returned at night with his reply; and the next morning, the commanding officers on both sides signed the following capitulation:

Articles of capitulation required by M. de Ramsey, Commander, for his Most Christian Majesty, in the higher and lower town of Quebec, Knight of the Military Order of St. Lewis, from his Excellency the General commanding his Britannic Majesty's forces.

ARTICLE I. M. de Ramsey requires the honours of war for his garrison; and that it shall be conducted back to the army in safety, by the shortest road, with its arms, baggage, six pieces of brass cannon, two mortars or howitzers, and twelve rounds.

ANSWER; the garrison of the town, composed of land forces, marines, and sailors, shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, lighted matches, two pieces of cannon, and twelve rounds; and shall be embarked, as conveniently as possible, in order to be landed at the first port in France.

II. That

- II. That the inhabitants shall be maintained in the possession of their houses, goods, effects and privileges.

GRANTED, provided they lay down their arms.

- III. That the said inhabitants shall not be molested on account of their having borne arms for the defence of the town; as they were forced to it, and as it is customary for the inhabitants of the colonies of both crowns to serve as militia.

GRANTED.

- IV. That the effects belonging to the absent officers or inhabitants shall not be touched.

GRANTED.

- V. That the said inhabitants shall not be removed, nor obliged to quit their houses, until their condition shall be settled by a definitive treaty between their Most Christian and Britannic Majesties.

GRANTED.

- VI. That the exercise of the Catholic and Roman religion shall be preserved; and that safe-guards shall be granted to the houses of the clergy, and to the monasteries, particularly to the bishop of Quebec; who, animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his diocese, desires to reside constantly in it, to exercise freely, and with that decency which his character and the sacred mysteries of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion require, his episcopal authority in the town of Quebec, wherever he shall think it proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided by a treaty between their Most Christian and Britannic Majesties.

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GRANTED, the free exercise of the Roman religion; and safe-guards to all religious persons, as well as to the Bishop, who shall be at liberty to come and exercise freely, with decency, the functions of his office, wherever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided between their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties.

VII. That the artillery and warlike stores shall be delivered up *bona fide*, and an inventory taken thereof.

GRANTED.

VIII. That the sick, wounded, commissaries, chaplains, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and other persons employed in the hospitals, shall be treated agreeable to the cartel settled between their Most Christian and Britannic Majesties on the sixth of February, 1759.

GRANTED.

IX. That, before delivering up the gate, and the entrance of the town, to the English forces, their General will be pleased to send some soldiers to be placed as safe-guards at the churches, convents, and chief habitations.

GRANTED.

X. That the commander of the city of Quebec shall be permitted to send advice to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general, of the reduction of the town; as also that this general shall be allowed to write to the French ministry, to inform them thereof.

GRANTED.

XI. That

XI. That the present capitulation shall be executed according to its form and tenor, without being liable to non-execution under pretence of reprisals, or the non execution of any preceding capitulation.

GRANTED.

The present treaty has been made and settled between us, and duplicates signed at the camp before Quebec, the 18th of September, 1759.

CHARLES SAUNDERS.

GEORGE TOWNSHEND.

DE RAMSEY.

Agreeable to this capitulation, Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, with three companies of grenadiers, took possession of the upper town; and Captain Palifer, of the navy, with a large body of seamen, of the lower.

In the course of this campaign, Fortune distinguished herself by her usual caprice. If General Wolfe did not happen to be her favourite at the instant of the attack in the neighbourhood of Montmorenci, she amply compensated him when he made good his landing; and he so well knew how to improve her favours, by means of an able disposition, as to insure success: But unhappily, like another Epaminondas, death snatched him from the arms of victory.

A recent event, by the general's manner of communicating it, diffused new spirits amongst his troops. An order appeared the day preceding the action, informing the army,—"That the enemy's force is now divided, great scarcity of provisions

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provisions in their camp, and a universal discontent amongst the Canadians. The second officer in command is gone to Montreal or to Saint John's, which gives reason to think that General Amherst is advancing into the colony. The troops below are in readiness to join us, and the army will land where the French seem least to think of it. The officers and men will remember what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers, inured to war, are capable of doing against five weak French battalions, mingled with a disorderly peasantry."

In war the most trifling accident may sometimes destroy the best imagined plan. The following circumstance had nearly proved fatal to the General's scheme of landing where he did. In the twilight of the evening preceding the battle, two French deserters, from the regiment of la Sarre, came in; and, being carried on board a ship of war commanded by Captain Smith, then lying near the north shore, gave information, that, that very night, the garrison of Quebec expected a convoy of provisions from M. de Bougainville's detachment, which was higher up the river. These deserters, some time after, perceiving the English boats gliding down the river in the dark, supposed them to be the expected convoy; and on this a noise ensued, which General Wolfe fortunately heard time enough to prevent the resolution which occasioned it: For Captain Smith, not having been informed of the General's intentions, was making preparations to fire into the boats, believing they were the convoy the deserters had been speaking of; and had he done so, would have not only considerably hurt his friends, but sufficiently alarmed the French to frustrate the attempt. Again, the French sentries, posted along the shore, were in expectation

expectation of the convoy; and therefore, when the English boats came near their posts, and properly answered their usual challenge, they suffered them to pass without the least suspicion.

Thus the great abilities of the English officers, exact discipline of the troops, and courage of both, gave them possession of Quebec.

Though the conquest of Quebec was of the utmost importance to the English, yet the heavy loss they sustained in the death of their commander, greatly abated its value. They lost a general who merits every encomium that is due to quick conception, to steady courage, to unwearied perseverance, to a nobleness of sentiment, and superior abilities. General Wolfe early habituated himself to study, and being perfectly acquainted with the theory of his profession, the practice of it was familiar to him: His genius was of that active kind, that no impediment could prevent the execution of any plan he once had formed: His judgment was conspicuous on every occasion; this begot an implicit confidence in all under his command, but more particularly those who were immediately to execute his orders; hence the alertness of the Brigadiers: And if they were assured that no ill-formed plan would fall to their lot to execute, on the other hand the General was certain of their full exertion of every endeavour to accomplish his orders. The House of Commons therefore voted them their thanks, but addressed his Majesty that he would be pleased to order a monument to be erected in Westminster Abbey to the memory of General Wolfe: And it will not be improper here to observe, that the French army petitioned Mr. Pitt for leave

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leave to erect a monument, in the principal church at Quebec, to the memory of their late General, M. de Montcalm; to which Mr. Pitt gave his immediate consent, and sent proper instructions to the Governor for that purpose.

In combined expeditions, the capital parts of action must, in general, fall to the share of the land forces; yet, as in this case, it would, without a powerful fleet, have been impossible to succeed, the English admiral and his seamen have an equal claim to praise with the English generals and their troops. The sailors executed their part of the service with an alacrity and resolution peculiar to a body who are by nature the protectors and guardians of their country; and who have enriched it with trophies brought from every quarter of the world. The admirals therefore on this expedition, likewise received the thanks of the House of Commons.

Quebec being garrisoned with seven thousand men, and well victualled, the government of it was entrusted to Brigadier General Murray; and Colonel Burton was appointed Lieutenant Governor. Brigadier Monckton returned to New-York, where he soon recovered of his wound; and Brigadier Townshend embarked, with Admiral Saunders, for England where they both arrived about the beginning of the winter.

The Cherokees, all this while, were continuing to destroy the settlements on the frontiers of South Carolina, not without exercising the most shocking cruelties on the settlers themselves. Governor Lyttleton, therefore, convinced that it was only by an early and vigorous exertion of the force of the pro-

vince, that the Indians, committing these ravages, could be brought to reason, determined to march against them as soon as possible. With this view, he applied to the legislature of his province, for the necessary authority and powers to raise and maintain a body of men; and when he had raised them, marched at the head of eight hundred provincials and three hundred regular troops into their country. This quick and spirited proceeding so intimidated the barbarians, that they immediately sent a deputation of their chiefs and head warriors to beg a peace, which the Governor thought proper to grant them by the following treaty.

Treaty of Peace and Friendship, concluded by his Excellency William Henry Lyttelton, Esq; Captain-General and Governor in chief of his Majesty's Province of South Carolina, with Attakulla-kulla, or the Little Carpenter, Deputy of the whole Cherokee nation, and other Headmen and Warriors thereof, at Fort Prince George; December 26th, 1759.

ARTICLE I. There shall be a firm peace and friendship between all his Majesty's subjects of this province and the nation of Indians called the *Cherokees*, and the said Cherokees shall preserve peace with all his Majesty's subjects whatever.

II. The articles of friendship and commerce, concluded by the lords commissioners for Trade and Plantations with the deputies of the Cherokees, by his Majesty's command, at Whitehall the 7th of September 1732, shall be strictly observed for the time to come.

III. Whereas the Cherokee Indians have, at sundry times and places, since the 19th of November 1758, slain divers of his

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Majesty's good subjects of this province, and his Excellency the Governor having demanded that satisfaction should be given for the same, according to the tenor of the said articles of friendship and commerce aforementioned, in consequence whereof two Cherokee Indians, of the number of those who have been guilty of perpetrating the said murders, have already been delivered up to be put to death, or otherwise disposed of as his Excellency the Governor shall direct; it is hereby stipulated and agreed, that twenty other Cherokee Indians, guilty of the said murders, shall, as soon as possible after the conclusion of this present treaty, in like manner be delivered up to such persons as his Excellency the Governor, or the Commander in Chief of this province for the time being, shall appoint to receive them, to be put to death or otherwise disposed of, as the said Governor and Commander in Chief shall direct.

IV. The Cherokee Indians, whose names are herein after mentioned, viz. Chenohé, Oufanatah, Tallichama, Quarrafatahe Conasaratah, Kataetoi Otassate of Watago, Oufanoletah of Jore, Kataeleta of Cowetche, Chisquatulone, Skiagusta of Sticoe, Tanaelle, Wohatche, Wyeyah, Buccah, Chistanat, Nicholche, Tony, Totaiah-hoi, Shalliloski, and Chistie, shall remain as hostages for the due performance of the foregoing articles, in the custody of such persons as his Excellency the Governor shall please to nominate for that purpose; and when any of the Cherokee Indians, guilty of the said murders, shall have been delivered up, as is expressed in the said articles, an equal number of said hostages shall forthwith be set at liberty.

V. Immediately after the conclusion of the present treaty, the licensed traders from this government, and all persons employed

ployed by them, shall have leave from his Excellency the Governor to return to their respective places of abode in the Cherokee country, and to carry on their trade with the Cherokee Indians in the usual manner, according to law.

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VI. During the continuance of the present war between his Most Sacred Majesty and the French King, if any Frenchman shall presume to come into the Cherokee nation, the Cherokees shall use their utmost endeavours to put him to death, as one of his Majesty's enemies; or, if taken alive, they shall deliver him up to his Excellency the Governor, or the Commander in Chief of this province for the time being, to be disposed of as he shall direct; and, if any person whatsoever, either white man or Indian, shall at any time bring any messages from the French into the Cherokee country, or hold any discourses there in favour of the French, or tending to set the English and Cherokees at variance, and interrupt the peace and friendship established by this present treaty, the Cherokees shall use their utmost endeavours to apprehend such person or persons, and detain him or them until they shall have given notice thereof to his Excellency the Governor, or to the Commander in Chief for the time being, and have received his directions therein.

Given under my hand and seal at Fort-Prince-George, in the province of South Carolina, this 26th of December, 1759, in the thirty-third year of his Majesty's reign.

WILLIAM HENRY LYTTELTON.

By his Excellency's command,

WILLIAM DRAYTON, Secy.

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We, whose names are here under-written, do agree to all and every these articles; and do engage, for ourselves and our nation, that the same shall be well and faithfully performed. In testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals, the day and year above-mentioned.

ATTAKULLA-KULLA.

OUCONNOSTOTA.

OTASSITE.

KITAGUSTA.

OCONOCCA.

KILLCANNOHCA.

JOSEPH AXSON,
WILLIAM FORSTER, } Sworn Interpreters.

Witness HENRY HYRNE, Adjutant General.

The alacrity of the troops during this march, and the safety with which it was conducted, deserve the highest applause. But what does most honour to the Governor, is the almost incredible shortness of the time in which, withal, it was performed. It was the beginning of October before he could set out for Congress, about one hundred miles off, to collect the militia; and from thence he had an uninhabited track to march them through, to Keowee, a place in the Cherokee country three hundred miles from Charles-Town, where he obliged the Indians to sue for peace. Yet this truce was to all human appearance happily concluded on the 26th day of the following December.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

BOOK VII.

Strength of the French and English in Canada after the reduction of Quebec.—Farther operations of the English.—French vessels pass Quebec.—Preparations of the French to attack Quebec in the winter.—Their first design frustrated—Their preparations to besiege Quebec and those of the English to defend it.—Farther attempts of the French miscarry.—Governor Murray marches out of Quebec.—Battle of Sillery.—French invest Quebec—who retire on the first appearance of English ships.—Governor Murray prepares to join General Amherst before Montreal.—Cherokees guilty of new ravages.—Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomery marches against them—kills a great number, and burns Esstatoé—offers them peace, which they refuse.—He returns to Charles-Town.—Cherokees blockade Fort-London.—The garrison capitulates.

THE season being no longer favourable to military operations, the English troops, as we have seen, were ordered into winter-quarters; but General Amherst, in the mean time, formed his plan for the total reduction of Canada, the next campaign. Montreal was now the only place of consequence remaining to the French in that colony; but here they had collected

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collected their whole strength, and here they intended making their last efforts: however, it was only to complete that disgrace, which their too ambitious views deserved. Against this place, therefore, to do the business at one stroke, if possible, the General resolved to direct all his strength, as soon as the season would permit, by sending an army against it by the Lake-Champlain; conducting another, himself, by Oswego, over the Lake-Ontario, and down the river St. Lawrence; whilst General Murray led a third, up the same river, from Quebec; the three to rendezvous before Montreal, and, jointly, form the attack of that place, or whatever troops might be assembled there for its defence.

Although the winter afforded ease and repose to the generality of the British forces employed in North America, the garrison of Quebec had too troublesome neighbours to enjoy any long cessation from labour. The reduction of the city proved to them the commencement of a campaign as severe and as extraordinary as any they had yet served. Though the garrison consisted of the 15th, 28th, 35th, 43d, 47th, 48th, 58th, and 78th regiments, and the 2d and 3d battalions of the Royal Americans, with a detachment of artillery, amounting in the whole to between seven and eight thousand men, and the Admiral had left the Race-horse of 20 guns, and the Porcupine of 18, commanded by the Captains Miller and Macartney, yet great numbers of the men being entirely disabled by an inveterate scurvy, the rest were extremely harassed with every kind of duty.

The Canadians having retired to their habitations, the French army was thereby greatly diminished. Nevertheless,
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it still continued much superior to that of the English, and had many other advantages over them. The French had endured but little fatigue compared with what the English had suffered. They were also accustomed to the climate, and were besides warmly lodged. They had provisions in great abundance, the country being under their command; whilst, from the singular situation of the town, every movement of the English was open to them. Though the English were in Quebec, they were very far from being well provided with good, or indeed any quarters at first; the shells and shot thrown into it during the siege having left very few houses that could afford them any shelter. Besides, the whole defence of the town consisted of six bastions with their courtyards, forming a chain from St. Roch to Cape-Diamond; and even these bastions had neither banquette, nor embrasure, nor covered way, nor any other exterior work; and the cannon were so much damaged by time as to be utterly useless.

The French had taken up their winter-quarters between Jacques-Quartier and Trois-Rivieres; their advanced posts lay at the Point-Aux-Trembles, St. Augustin, and Calvaire. Their patrols frequently advanced to within musket-shot of the English cattle guard; nay several detachments of them came up to the very gates of the town, by the assistance of their peasants, and even without the knowledge of their late conquerors.

The security of the garrison engaged Governor Murray's first attention. He ordered eight timber redoubts to be erected without the works of the town, with ramparts, embrasures and banquettes, and seven platforms for cannon; and the
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road leading to the town to be broke up. He likewise caused eleven months provision to be brought, by the soldiers, from the lower to the upper town; and five hundred houses to be repaired for the purpose of lodging the troops comfortably during the cold season.

The garrison being so far secured, the Governor determined to extend his quarters, and take post at St. Foix and Lorette; the first about five, and the other nine miles from Quebec. Accordingly, about the middle of November, Major Hussey took possession of these posts with a considerable detachment; and, as soon as he had established himself, another of seven hundred men was ordered on the same service to St. Augustine, where it carried off the advanced guard of the French, burnt about a dozen houses beyond it, and obliged the inhabitants to take the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty. This blow alarmed the natives; but they were soon quieted by a promise, that the damage should be repaid. However, the Governor, at the same time, published a manifesto exhorting all the inhabitants to remain quiet, and strictly forbidding them, on the severest penalties, to assist the enemy, but giving them, withal, the fullest assurances of his utmost protection.

The establishing of posts at St. Foix and Lorette was of the utmost consequence, as thereby the motions of the English were concealed, and an opportunity secured of observing those of the French. The inhabitants of eleven parishes had now submitted themselves, and taken the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty; and were of great advantage to the army, by supplying it to the utmost of their ability with fresh provisions, during the whole winter.

Wood for firing now became an object of consideration. When the fleet left Quebec, there was scarce enough remaining to supply the garrison for twenty days, and the winter advanced apace. No less than sixteen thousand cords was necessary for the hospital and the guards in their quarters. A small quantity was cut on the island of Orleans; but the getting it to Quebec was attended with great risk and difficulty, the river being full of floating ice. For this reason, a few days after the post of St. Foix had been established, two hundred men were ordered into the woods of that name to make a sufficient number of hand-sleds for the soldiers to draw their wood upon; and, about the latter end of November, these sleds were distributed to those who were ordered on the wood-cutting service. By these a magazine was formed for every regiment, and then distributed, in equal proportion, to each company. The severity of this duty was almost insupportable, as one fourth of the army was obliged to march ten miles every day while it lasted; and the frost so intense the whole time, that, in despite of every precaution, there scarcely passed a day that many of the men were not frost-bitten. The severity of this service, and the seducing arts of the priests, caused a defection in many of the soldiers; but the making an example of a Frenchman, who had inveigled an English soldier to desert, and of some soldiers, whose intention of deserting had been discovered, put a stop to so criminal and dangerous a practice.

The season was now so far advanced as to leave the French no room to doubt but that the English fleet had quitted the gulph. They therefore, in the night of the 24th of November, sent

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down eight or ten vessels loaded with peltry, in order to pass Quebec ; and although the English were apprised of this design, and the batteries of the town were prepared to prevent the execution of it, yet they all passed uninjured by the many shot and shells that were discharged against them. One, indeed, by some manœuvre in her working, ran ashore ; and an unfortunate accident happened, in consequence of it, to Captain Miller of the *Race-horse*, his lieutenant, and a number of his men, who, when the French abandoned their vessel, went and boarded her ; but before the French quitted their ship, they laid a slow match, which communicated with the powder magazine ; but this match being discovered and extinguished, no other danger was apprehended. Captain Miller, therefore, ordered a light to be struck, to enable them to examine the ship ; but some of the sparks falling on a quantity of loose powder that had not been observed, blew up the vessel, and killed most of the party, wounding others in a most shocking manner. Captain Miller and his lieutenant died in a day or two afterwards.

The Governor, being assured that many of the merchants had gone to Montreal to purchase peltry ; and that the silver they carried with them for that purpose was of no small benefit to the French army, their paper currency being in great discredit, and his own military chest scarce containing money enough for the expences of the garrison, he issued a manifesto prohibiting a commerce that was so prejudicial to the service of the King and his troops ; and inviting all true patriots and friends to their country to bring in their cash, and receive notes from himself and Colonel Burton, payable in six months, with interest at the rate of five *per cent*. In a few

few days after the publication of his manifesto, the military chest was increased to eight thousand pounds sterling.

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We have observed, that the inhabitants of eleven parishes had taken the oaths of fidelity to his Britannic Majesty. In order to add to the provisions with which they supplied Quebec, the Governor detached a party below the town, in order to give the inhabitants of that district every possible encouragement to bring theirs likewise to market. This measure was attended with the desired effect; and the affairs of the garrison might now be said to be in a good way; but that the scurvy, which raged amongst the troops, increased from day to day, and carried off great numbers. The French were not ignorant of this circumstance. They therefore resolved to attack Quebec in the winter, formed a plan for that purpose, and lost no time in making every necessary preparation to carry it into execution. Snow-shoes were made, and distributed to their soldiers, who were withal exercised in mounting of walls with scaling-ladders. This attack they intended to make in the middle of February; but, notwithstanding all their precautions to conceal their design, by cutting off all communication with Jaques-Cartier, which had hitherto been open to the Canadians, the English were apprised of their intentions. The first step of the Governor, in consequence of this intelligence, was to order six weeks provision to be distributed to each regiment, as there were many Canadians in the town ready to attempt the destruction of the magazines, if an opportunity should offer. It was likewise necessary that General Amherst should be made acquainted with the critical situation of the garrison. The consideration of the great fatigue, dangers and difficulties with which the conveyance of such

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intelligence must be attended, prevented the Governor from exerting his authority to force the commission on any one. But his wishes were no sooner known, than Lieutenant Montresor, an engineer, offered himself for the performance of this necessary duty; and having received the Governor's dispatches the latter end of January, he, in twenty-six days, delivered them to General Amherst, after enduring in his journey every distress that cold, hunger, and so long a march could be attended with.

M. de Levi still persisting in his design to attack the town, M. de Cadet the commissary collected a quantity of flour and cattle for the subsistence of the troops to be employed in the enterprise; and a detachment was ordered to Point-Levi to cover it. Orders were likewise given to the inhabitants of the country to join the above detachment, and assemble for that purpose at the post of Calvaire. The French had been eight days at Point-Levi, when, on the 13th of February, Governor Murray ordered his light infantry, with two hundred men, and two pieces of cannon, to dislodge them; but, at the approach of these troops, the French retired with the greatest precipitation, leaving the principal part of their provisions behind them. The English, notwithstanding, took one officer and eleven soldiers prisoners, and then made a lodgment in the church of St. Joseph. All this while the French in Quebec had suffered greatly for want of proper subsistence; the Governor, therefore, ordered the provision taken on this occasion to be sold to them at a moderate price, and some flour and cattle to be restored to those to whom it belonged. This act of generosity was soon returned by the inhabitants of the adjacent country, bringing into the garrison every kind of fresh provision they could possibly spare.

On the 24th of February, the French assembled to retake the post of Point-Levi; but Governor Murray, being apprised of their design, ordered some battalions with cannon to cross the river on the ice, and cut off their retreat by the river Etchemin. The 15th regiment, with some light infantry, was to endeavour to get on their flanks, and in their rear. The French, seeing they were on the point of being surrounded, retired so precipitately, that, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the English, they escaped with the loss of a few of their rear-guard, who were made prisoners. The conquerors, after this, erected some redoubts, and felled a number of trees to secure themselves from any sudden attack. The inhabitants about six miles from Point-Levi, having, notwithstanding their oath of fidelity, joined with the French army, the Governor, justly incensed at this unprovoked breach of faith, on the 27th of February ordered a detachment to burn all their houses; but not without publishing a manifesto to make known his reasons for having recourse to such measures.

In consequence of these checks, M. de Levi postponed any farther attempts on Quebec till the spring, when he resolved to besiege that town in form: at least his preparations seemed to denote such a resolution. He collected a vast number of vessels and boats, cast a great quantity of bullets and shells, formed a magazine of fascines and gabions; and, in a word, did all that was necessary to carry on a vigorous siege. Governor Murray was not idle on his part. He strengthened his works, and prepared for an obstinate defence. Fascines and picquets he had already caused to be made during the winter, that they might be in readiness on any emergency, and be used, if not otherwise

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otherwise employed, in intrenching the heights of Abraham, as soon as the season would permit.

Every day now became more critical than the preceding; there being the greatest probability that the French army would come down as soon as the ice should break up. We have already intimated, that Governor Murray intended to intrench on the heights of Abraham; but it was yet impossible, the earth being still too hard frozen for that purpose. This circumstance obliged him to order his light infantry to take post at Cape-Rouge, and there fortify themselves, in order both to prevent the enemy from debarking at that place, and be near enough to them to observe their motions. These works were scarcely begun, when the river became navigable. Accordingly, the French vessels came down, and anchored off St. Augustine, whilst their army proceeded by the rout of Lorette, to dislodge the troops at that post, and cut off those of St. Foix and Cape-Rouge. But Major Dalling, who commanded the light infantry at Cape-Rouge, having discovered that their advanced guard was within half a league of his post, gave notice of it to the governor; and his intelligence was confirmed by a serjeant belonging to the French artillery, who, being in a boat, was overset by the violence of the wind, but had scrambled upon a cake of floating ice, and had been carried down on it by the tide, below Quebec, where he was taken up by a boat belonging to one of the English frigates.

The next day, being the 27th of April, the Governor, with part of his garrison, marched out to cover the retreat of the troops posted at St. Foix and Cape-Rouge; and, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the French to obstruct him, he lost
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but two men in effecting it. The French cantoned themselves in and about St. Foix.

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Governor Murray now determined to take the field ; and, if necessary, to hazard a battle. The French were indeed superior to him in numbers ; but his troops had already beaten them ; and he had a fine train of field-artillery, an article with which they were wholly unprovided. Had he shut himself up in his walls, he must have risked his whole stake on the single chance of defending a wretched fortification. Should the event of a battle prove unfortunate, he could still retreat into the town, hold out to the last extremity with the remainder of the garrison, and perhaps defend the place as long as if he had not given himself the chance of an engagement in the open field. Agreeable to this resolution, on the 28th of April, the Governor, with about three thousand men, and twenty field pieces, marched out of the city, taking with them such tools as were necessary to intrench on the heights of Abraham. His line was formed into three brigades ; that on the right, consisted of the 15th and 48th regiments, and the second battalion of Royal Americans, commanded by Colonel Burton ; and that on the left, of the 28th, 47th, and 78th, under Colonel Fraser ; the 43d and the 58th composed the center, headed by Colonel James. The 35th, and the third battalion of the Royal Americans formed a second line. Major Dalling's light infantry covered the right flank ; and some volunteers and the rangers, the left ; the field pieces were posted where most necessary, under the direction of Major Godwin ; and Mr. Mackeller attended as chief Engineer. This little army being thus drawn up on the heights of Abraham, the Governor went to reconnoitre that of the French. We have already observed, that the French army lay

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1760. in and near St. Foix. The night having been extremely wet, and the greatest part of the soldiers being uncovered, their arms had received the rain. Accordingly, when General Murray got near enough to make his observations, he found them irregularly employed in drawing their wet cartridges, and cleansing their firelocks. This confusion afforded an advantage of which the Governor determined to avail himself. He therefore immediately returned to his army, gave his orders for battle, and descended the heights.

The French beheld this movement with surprise, but an action was still the farthest of any thing from their thoughts. M. de Levi could not believe the English General would abandon such advantageous ground to give him battle; but when he saw the English colours still advancing, he gave the word "To arms." The men hurried together; but, before they could be formed, two companies of their grenadiers, that had been advanced, by way of a covering party, as far as the entrance of the wood of Sillery, were attacked by the English light troops consisting of volunteers and rangers; and on their retiring, agreeable to their orders, the English, who took their retreat for a flight, briskly pursued them; but these soon received a check by a heavy fire from the French, who had by this time acquired some form. In short, they were entirely broken, and dispersed themselves along the front of the English right wing, by which means the cannon, that had hitherto played with success, was now rendered entirely useless. Governor Murray, upon this, immediately sent them orders to form on the right of the army; but in attempting it, they fell into such confusion, that they precipitately retired to the rear, and never again returned to the charge. The right flank

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flank being now exposed, Major Morris was ordered, with Otway's regiment, to cover it from the attack of a column of the French troops, that had slipped along the escarpment of St. Roche; and this movement of Major Morris had its desired effect, and restored order on the right. All this while, the left suffered greatly. As to the volunteers and the rangers, they were, as we have seen before, entirely defeated. The enemy took advantage of these circumstances, and advanced a column to attack the left; on which Governor Murray ordered the regiment of Kennedy from the center, and the third battalion of Royal Americans to support it; but they arrived too late. The disorder was now general, and a retreat ensued. Amherst's and Anstruther's supported each other with great firmness; and retreated in some order. The return of the other regiments resembled a flight more than a retreat, till they got under the cannon of the wooden redoubts. The field train which the Governor had brought with him, became the prize of the victors. In this affair, the English had three hundred killed on the field of battle, and about seven hundred wounded. The loss of the French was not so considerable.

The French followed their blow by intrenching themselves, and making farther preparations to besiege the town, whilst Governor Murray employed himself in the erection of every work that could contribute to its defence. The loss he suffered on the 28th had reduced his army to two thousand two hundred effective men. Six hundred were in the hospital, most of them unable to walk without crutches. Yet, in this situation, they gave their comrades all the assistance in their power; and that was far from being contemptible. Part,

seated on the ramparts, filled sand-bags; others made cartridges for the cannon. The women exerted themselves likewise: They were indefatigable in taking care of the wounded, and dressing their meat for the soldiers, now too busy to do it themselves. At length the alacrity of the troops had brought the affairs of the garrison into a very respectable situation, there being no fewer than one hundred and thirty-two pieces of cannon mounted on the ramparts, the greatest part of them brought from the lower city by the labour of the soldiers; and so successful was the continued fire of this numerous artillery, that the French were forced to desist from an attack they had begun against St. John's gate. After all, the only hopes of preserving the city centered in the arrival of Lord Colville, to whom Governor Murray had sent an officer with all possible dispatch to inform him of his critical situation. At length, on the 9th of May, the apprehensions of the garrison began to subside, on the appearance of the *Leostasse* frigate, commanded by Captain Deane; and brightened into hope on receiving by her the agreeable news of Commodore Swanton's being arrived from Old England, in order to intercept any assistance that France might attempt to give her army in Canada. On the 11th, the French opened three batteries of cannon, and one of mortars; but their fire was returned with great spirit till the 16th, when the happy hour arrived that saved Quebec. On this day, the *Vanguard*, Commodore Swanton, came in sight, with the *Diana*. The next day, he passed the town, and made a signal for the two frigates to attack the vessels, that had brought down the French artillery, ammunition and stores. They accordingly entered upon this service with so much celerity, that the enemy split their cables,

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and made fail. But the frigates pursued them so closely, and cannonaded them so briskly, that the whole of them, six in number, were soon a-ground in different places. Part of their crews, indeed, escaped on shore. The remainder were made prisoners; and, amongst them, M. Vauguelin, the commodore.

The arrival of Commodore Swanton was like a stroke of thunder to the French. They imagined that he had troops on board his men of war, and that he would land them at the Point-aux-Trembles, and endanger their retreat. They, therefore, raised the siege with a precipitation scarcely to be equalled. They abandoned their camp, thirty-six pieces of cannon, six mortars, all their ammunition and provisions, and all the tools and materials they had collected to carry on their approaches. Governor Murray ordered the grenadiers and light infantry to pursue the fugitives as far as Cape-Rouge, and they made some prisoners. Those who escaped, retired to the other side of Jacques-Cartier, to the quarters which they had formerly occupied.

It is impossible to express what the garrison suffered during the winter, from the inclemency of the weather, labour without intermission, and a most inveterate scurvy. Yet there were soldiers, whom even the want of pay during the whole of that rigorous season of near eight months continuance, could not tempt to deviate from the strictest observation of the most minute military duties. During this period, a thousand died of the scurvy; and above two thousand had been alternately in the hospital, so that the whole labour fell on about four thousand men. Quebec being thus happily relieved, by the arrival of Commodore Swanton, General Murray proceeded to obey the orders he had received to join General Amherst, before Montreal.

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Whilst the English were struggling to preserve a conquest of so much consequence, in the manner we have related in the foregoing pages, the Cherokees, notwithstanding the treaty they had concluded with Governor Lyttelton, their having given up, as we have already seen, some of the villains who had perpetrated the murders complained of, and even left two-and-twenty of their chiefs as hostages for the delivery of the remainder, relapsed into their native barbarity and perfidiousness, if they had ever quitted it. Governor Lyttelton had scarce time to get home, when those miscreants began to ravage, as usual, such of the back settlements of the English as lay most convenient to them for that purpose. They first fell upon that called Long Canes, where they spared neither plantations or buildings, men or cattle, women or children. They, in particular, murdered as many of the English traders as they found there. Not content with this first irruption, they soon after made a second, to the amount of about two hundred men, into the same wretched country, and spread themselves over that bordering on the forks of the Broad River, where they cut off about forty settlers more. They likewise made an attack on Fort Ninety-six; and, finding it too strong for them, took the rout to Congarees, or Orange County, where, with fire and sword, they laid every thing waste before them. But the provinces to which these settlements belonged were far from beholding these excesses with their usual indifference, particularly that of South-Carolina. Governor Lyttelton, on the first news of this fresh infraction, immediately dispatched an express to General Amherst for instructions and a speedy reinforcement of troops; and, in the mean time, the Provincial Assembly, at his request, earnestly set about getting ready a force sufficient to repel and chastise, with General Amherst's assistance, these
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cruel and treacherous invaders, whenever the Governor's requisition should arrive for that purpose.

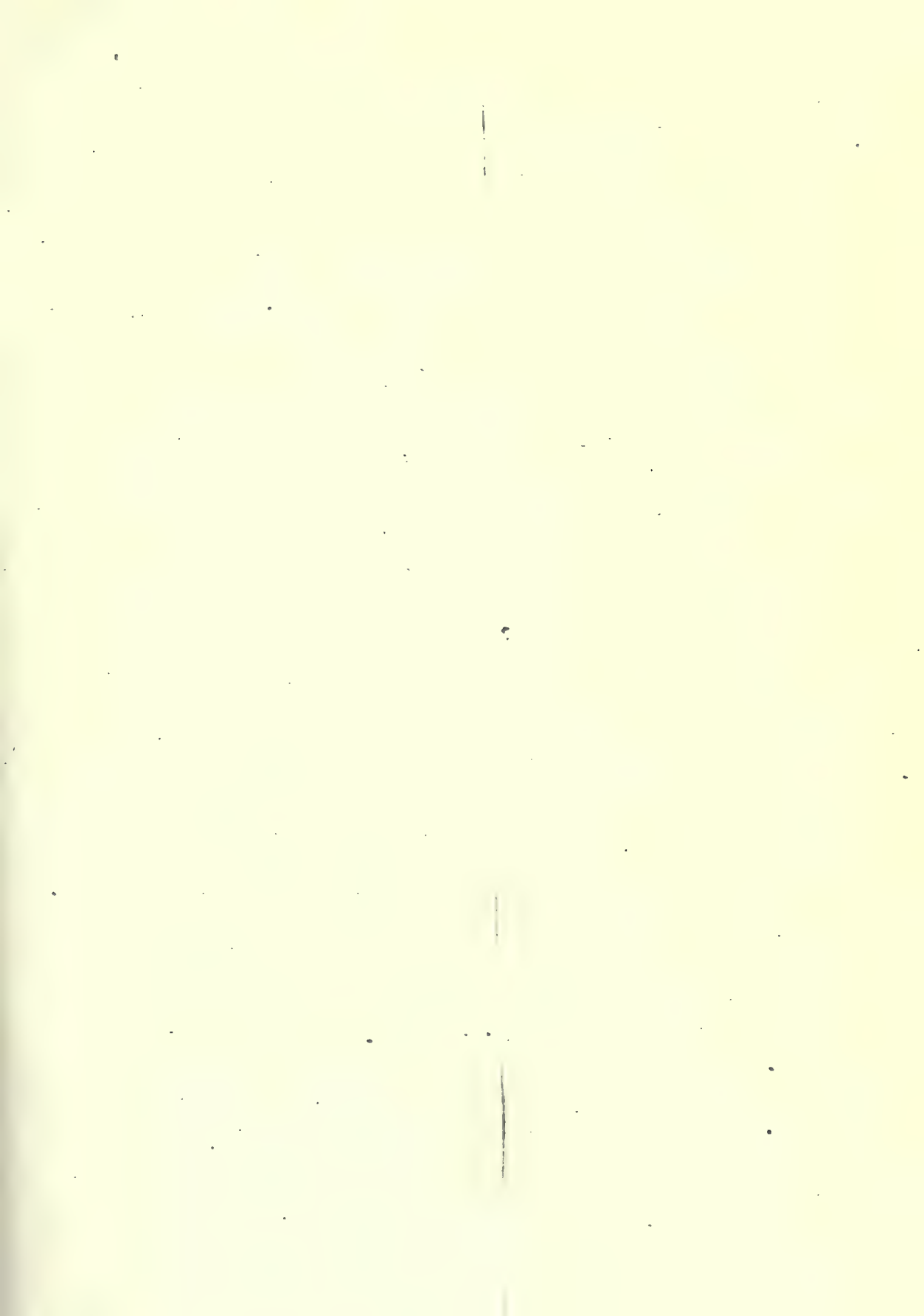
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All this while, however, the Indians were following their blow. On the 18th of February, 1760, they assembled before Fort Prince George, in order, as it appeared, to surprise the garrison. With this view *Ocunnaſto*, the great Warrior of Choté, coming within hearing, desired to speak to Lieutenant Coytmore, the commanding officer of the Fort, who thereupon went to the bank of the river to meet him, accompanied by Ensign Bell, Mr. Doharty, and an interpreter. The Warrior then informed Mr. Coytmore, that he intended to go down to the Governor on business of consequence, and desired a white man to accompany him as a safeguard. His request being granted, he said he would go and catch a horse for him. This was objected to; but the Warrior made a feint to persist in this offer; and, whilst he was speaking, he swung a bridle, which he held carelessly in his hand, thrice over his head; when, instantly, a volley was discharged at Mr. Coytmore and his company from an ambuscade, where some Cherokees were placed, and to whom the shaking of the bridle was a signal. Mr. Coytmore received a shot through the left breast, which proved mortal; Mr. Bell was wounded in the leg; and the interpreter in the buttock. Ensign Miln, who was left in the Fort, judging from this treachery that the garrison was not secure, should the hostages which the Fort contained be permitted to continue any longer under no restraint but that of mere confinement to a room, ordered the soldiers to put them in irons. These orders they immediately set about executing; but the first who attempted to take hold of an Indian, was instantly killed with a tomahawk; and another was wounded. This
outrage

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outrage so exasperated and alarmed the garrison, that it was thought expedient to put all the hostages immediately to death; and it was done accordingly. In the evening some Indians appeared again before the Fort, fired two signal guns; and, not knowing how the hostages had been disposed of, cried out in the Cherokee language, "Fight strong, and you shall be assisted." Soon after which the Indians began to fire upon the Fort, and kept doing so most part of the night, but without effect. This attack was undoubtedly concerted between the hostages within, and their friends without, with a view to surprise and massacre the garrison; for, upon searching the apartment in which the hostages lay, several tomahawks were found buried in the ground, which their friends, who had been suffered to visit them, had privately conveyed there. From this circumstance it appears, that putting the hostages to death was a very salutary, as well as necessary, measure, since it saved the garrison at that time, and delivered it from any apprehensions for the time to come.

In the mean time General Amherst, on receipt of the express sent him by Governor Lyttelton, detached to his assistance six hundred Highlanders, and an equal number of the Royals, under the command of the Honourable Colonel Montgomery. This party arrived at Charles-Town early in April; and, as soon as every thing could be got ready for the purpose, the Colonel took the field, and led them to Fort Ninety-six, where he arrived on the 26th of May. Two days after, all his forces being now collected, he continued his march against the enemy, and, by the 1st of June, reached the pass at Twelve-mile River, which, as it had been sufficiently reconnoitred the preceding night, the troops got through without opposition, and, about eleven
in



in the morning, drew up on a rising ground near the river. About four in the afternoon the carriages were brought to the camp, having been dragged up rocky banks, and amazing steeps, by the force of hands, as the horses could not do it, they were so much jaded with a march of eighty-four miles without a day's rest.

As Colonel Montgomery had met with no opposition at Twelve-mile River, and his scouts could discover no Indian tracks, he concluded that the enemy knew nothing of his motions. This was a most favourable circumstance to avail himself of: he kept advancing, though the troops that morning had marched forty miles. Having at length halted, a camp was immediately formed upon very advantageous ground; and the Colonel (leaving the tents standing, with one hundred and twenty of the King's troops, a few Provincials, and about twenty Rangers, commanded by Captain Peter Gordon of the Royals, as a guard to the camp, waggon, cattle, &c.) pushed forward, at eight in the evening, with the rest of his troops, through the woods, in order to surprise Estatoe, a great Indian town, about twenty-five miles from the place where he had pitched his camp. When they had marched about sixteen miles, the barking of a dog was heard at some distance, in the front. It seems there lay, about a quarter of a mile out of the road, a few straggling houses, called Little Keowee, of which the guides had neglected to give intelligence. As soon as this circumstance came to be known, to prevent any inconvenience from a discovery, by the Indians of this village, the light infantry company of the Royals were detached to surround and surprise it, and put all the inhabitants to death with their bayonets, except the women and children, who

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who were to be made prisoners. The detachment found the Indians encamped near their houses, and rushing on them with their bayonets, made an end of most of those who were without the houses, and all who were within, except the women and children, whom they carried off.

During this affair the main body of the army had proceeded on its march to Estatoé. They found a few houses on the road just deserted. Early in the morning they entered Estatoé itself, which had been abandoned about half an hour before their arrival. About ten or a dozen Indians, who had not time to escape, were killed. The town, consisting of about two hundred houses, well provided with ammunition, corn, and, in short, all the necessaries of life, was plundered and laid in ashes; and many more of the inhabitants, who had endeavoured to conceal themselves in their houses, perished in the flames. In order to continue the blow, and thereby effectually convince the savages that it was possible to punish their insolence, the Colonel ordered the army to proceed, and every town and house in the lower nation shared the fate of Estatoé. After destroying all that could be destroyed, the army returned to Keowee, and arrived at Fort Prince George on the 1st of June, without halting.

In this expedition about seventy Cherokees were killed, and about forty taken prisoners, including women and children. Those who escaped, were in a most miserable condition, having no method left to subsist nature, but by flying over the mountains. It was, indeed, impossible they should have saved any thing; some of them having had but just time to get out
of

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of their beds, others left their sepawn warm in their kettles, and even upon their tables. The surprise in every town was equal; as every where the whole business was the work of a few hours only. There was at Estatoé and Sugar-Town plenty of ammunition, and every where astonishing magazines of corn, which were all burnt or otherwise destroyed. The barbarians had not time to secure even their most portable and valuable effects. The soldiers found in their houses, skins, cloaths, wampum, some watches, and even money; in short, every thing. Sugar-Town was intended to have been saved, and centries were placed for its security; but the body of a man, whom the savages had that very morning put to the torture, made it impossible any longer to think of mercy.

On the part of the English four soldiers were killed, and Lieutenants Marshal and Hamilton, of the Royal, wounded.

The Indians are of such a disposition, that unless they really feel the rod of chastisement, they cannot be prevailed on to believe that we have the power to inflict it; and accordingly, whenever they happened to be attacked by us unprepared, they had recourse to a treaty of peace, as a subterfuge which gave them time to collect themselves; then, without the least regard to the bonds of public faith, they, on the first opportunity, renewed their depredations. Negotiation and treaties of peace they despise; so that the only hopes of being able to bring to reason their untractable minds, and of making them acknowledge our superiority, and live in friendship with us, must arise from the severity of chastisement: that which they now experienced, operated more strongly to make them enter into articles of accommodation, than all the presents the province of South-Carolina had in her power to bestow.

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That this correction might make the deeper impression on the Indians in general, and that a peace with the Cherokees in particular might be the more speedily concluded, on such terms as would secure their attachment to the English, Tiftoé and the Old Warrior of Estatoé were set at liberty to inform their nation, that "though they were in our power, we were ready to give them peace, as they were formerly friends and allies to the white people." An express was likewise dispatched to inform Captain Demere, at Fort-Loudon, of what had happened; and to desire him to acquaint the Little Carpenter with it, and tell him, that "he might come down, with some other headmen, to treat, but it must be done in a few days, or he might expect to see all the towns in the upper nations in ashes; but that the English were willing to give his people peace on his account."

Colonel Montgomery then retired to Fort Prince George, with about forty Indian prisoners, and there encamped, to wait the arrival of the headmen to conclude a peace; but the intimations given for that purpose having produced little or no effect, the Colonel resolved to make a second irruption into the middle settlements of the Cherokees. To this intent he, on the 24th of June, led the army from Fort Prince George, and continued his march on the 25th and 26th without any interruption. On Friday the 27th, about six miles from Etchowee, the first town in the middle settlements, the advanced party, commanded by Captain Morrison, discovered three Indians, one of whom they took. This man pretended that the middle settlements were for peace, and knew nothing of the army's coming up; but Colonel Montgomery, not giving much credit to what he said, marched on with the greatest precaution.

precaution. When they had proceeded about a mile, Captain Morrison was fired upon, by some Indians, from a thicket. However, he still kept moving on with his party, but was soon obliged to order a retreat, in which he was unfortunately killed. Colonel Montgomery, on hearing the fire, ordered the grenadiers and light infantry to advance. This detachment, though it was informed, on coming up with Captain Morrison's party, that five hundred of the enemy lay in ambush, marched on notwithstanding, braving a fire which annoyed them, without seeing the enemy who gave it. At length, coming to a rising ground, they discovered a party of Indians, whom they immediately charged, and obliged to retire into a swamp. Colonel Montgomery then put himself at the head of the Royals, and ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Grant to the Highlanders, when the whole moved forward. The Indians still continued firing, and the army returned it, but at too great a distance to do execution; till, having got somewhat nearer, the enemy thought proper to retire, after a few platoons had been discharged at them. The army was then ordered into a road leading to the Indian town; a deep river covered its right, and its left was well secured by scouts; but the path being narrow, the army was obliged to march in an Indian file. This circumstance being observed by the Indians, they made a circuit, and came upon the rear of the army, firing frequently, and wounding several men; but, on the army's facing about, they retired hastily, dragging their killed and wounded with them by the legs and arms. The front, also, received two or three fires, but without any loss. By the time the army reached Etchowee, the inhabitants were all fled. The troops then encamped on an extensive plain, surrounded by hills. About five in the afternoon, an express arrived, with

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advice that the piquet and guard left with the provisions were attacked by the Indians; upon which Captain Sinclair was immediately ordered with two hundred men to their assistance; but before he could get to them, they had bravely beaten off the enemy; whereupon he returned that night. On the 28th, about four in the afternoon, a shot was fired from a hill at a small distance from the camp, and followed by volleys from a body of Indians. Upon this, Captain Sutherland was ordered to the river side, with a company, to repulse them; but, being at too great a distance to do execution, he crossed the river, and obliged them to retire, at the expence of two or three men slightly wounded. Several horses being by this time killed, and many wounded, it became impracticable to advance, without leaving the provisions, or the sick and wounded, to the mercy of the savages. The provision could not be sacrificed, as there was no other possible means of subsistence; and there was no probability of being able to execute any farther service, which could be deemed an equivalent for the hazard of losing so many brave fellows, and that by the torture of a cruel and enraged enemy. The Colonel, therefore, ordered a retreat; and carriages were immediately made for the conveyance of such as were not able to bear the fatigue of riding on horseback. About twelve at night the whole army was in motion, and proceeded about twenty-five miles without hearing any thing of the enemy. On the 30th, at assembly-beating, several shot, which could not be drawn, were discharged. Upon this, a party of the Indians, imagining the camp was attacked by some other of their parties, advanced and fired upon the center of the piquet, who were posted at some distance in the woods; but they were soon made sensible of their mistake, and obliged to go off in great haste. The front

front being on their march, before the rear were off their ground, Lieutenant Montgomery, who commanded the flanking party of the front, fell in with about sixty Indians, which he soon dispersed, killing or wounding several of them, whom the rest, however, found means to carry off on horses. The rear was likewise attacked, but the enemy were soon beaten off; after these rubs, the Colonel continued his march to within nine miles of Fort-Prince-George, where he encamped; and the next day, being July the 1st, arrived at that place without any other molestation: His loss in this expedition consisted of two captains killed; and one captain, two lieutenants, and one ensign wounded; two serjeants killed, and two wounded; fourteen rank and file killed, and fifty-eight wounded.

Colonel Montgomery returned with his troops to Charles-Town, and there embarked on the 15th of August, for New-York, where he arrived on the 1st of September. Notwithstanding the labour and fatigue which his men had so recently endured, they were immediately ordered to the Mohawk's River: here they were scarcely arrived, when it became necessary they should return to New-York, and embark for Halifax in Nova-Scotia, which they accordingly did. So that, in the space of a few months, they had to endure, besides the dangers of war, the extremity of heat and intenseness of cold, during a tedious march, attended with a variety of hard labour, all which the men bore with that unrepining cheerfulness and implicit obedience to their officers, which justly characterises the soldiers of North-Britain.

The Cherokees, to retaliate the distress Colonel Montgomery had brought on them, formed, in considerable numbers the blockade of Fort-Loudon, a small fortification on the confines

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finer of Virginia. And the garrison, being reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions, Captain Paul Demere, the commandant, summoned the officers to deliberate on their critical situation, when they came to the following resolution:

Fort-Loudon, August 6, 1760.

"The officers being assembled by Captain Paul Demere, to concert proper measures to be pursued in the present distress of the garrison, it being represented, That our provisions are entirely exhausted: That we having subsisted upon horse-flesh, and such supply of hogs and beans, as the Indian women brought us by stealth, without any kind of bread, since the 7th of July, by which means our men are greatly weakened, and must, in a short time, become incapable of doing duty: That the enemy blockade us night and day: That, for two nights past, considerable parties have deserted, and some even have already thrown themselves upon the mercy of the enemy: That the garrison, in general, threaten to abandon us, and betake themselves to the woods: That we have no reason to hope for seasonable relief, having had no intelligence from any British settlement since the 4th day of June: We are, therefore, unanimously of opinion, that it is impracticable to maintain the fort any longer; and that such terms as can be procured from the Indians, consistent with honour, be immediately accepted of, and the fort abandoned: That Captain Stuart go to Chotee to treat with the warriors and headmen, and to procure the best terms he can."

Signed by all the Officers.

A copy of this resolution was immediately sent to Colonel Byrd, at Williamsburgh in Virginia, to be forwarded to Governor Lyttelton, accompanied with the following letter:

Fort

Fort-Loudon, August 8, 1760.

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"This goes by an express to acquaint you, that we have agreed upon articles of capitulation with the Great Warrior, and head-men of the nation; which, considering the great distress we are in, I hope you will approve of. Nothing but the inclination these Indians have for a peace could have saved us; for we should have been obliged to abandon the fort this day, happen what would; and few of us would ever have reached Carolina. To-morrow morning, we set out; and we flatter ourselves the Indians mean us no harm. We shall make all the dispatch that our starved condition will admit of.

"The Indians expect that, immediately upon our arrival at Keowee, the prisoners confined there will be released, all thoughts of farther hostilities laid aside, and an accommodation heartily set about; that a firm peace and well-regulated trade may be established, which, they say, will last for ever. We can discover nothing in their present behaviour, that contradicts this; and hope, at least, that nothing will be undertaken which may endanger us upon the march.

PAUL DEMERE."

Although the troops were in such distressful circumstances, and a capitulation with the Indians the only means of relieving them, they were too sanguine in their hopes of its being observed with such a degree of faith, as they might depend upon for protection. Accordingly, they too soon experienced that they were deceived. They had not marched above fifteen miles from the fort, when they were most treacherously surprised by a large body of Indians; and all the officers, except Captain Stuart, were killed, together with about twenty-five of the

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the private men; the rest were made prisoners, and dispersed through the nation.

Captain Stuart was saved by the interposition of Atta-kulla-kulla, the Little Carpenter, who parted with every thing he had for that purpose. Indeed, his attachment to the English was such, that his countrymen never informed him of their treacherous designs, lest he should thwart or counteract them. He now left the rest of the Indians on pretence of hunting; and conducted Captain Stuart safe to a party of Virginians on the Holston-River, who prevented Fort Ninety-six from sharing the same fate with Fort-Loudon; the Indians having thought proper to retire at the approach of this body.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
L A T E W A R I N A M E R I C A.

B O O K V I I I.

Diverſion made by Major Rogers, in Canada, in favour of the garrifon of Quebec.—General Amherſt proceeds againſt Montreal.—A French armed veſſel taken in the River St. Lawrence.—Fort Levi taken.—Rapids in the River St. Lawrence;—paſſed by the Engliſh army.—Extraordinary clemency of the Engliſh to the French inhabitants.—General Amherſt arrives before, and inveſts Montreal; the French army having retired into it.—Letters between the Engliſh and French Generals.—The French General capitulates.—The articles.—Favourable impreſſion made by the appearance of two other Engliſh armies before Montreal, under Governor Murray from Quebec, and Brigadier Haviland from Crown-Point.—Governor Murray's ſtrength and progreſs—he is joined by two regiments ordered from Louiſbourg—reaches the iſland of Montreal, and marches up to the town.—Brigadier Haviland's ſtrength and progreſs.—Major Rogers ſent to take poſſeſſion of the forts in Canada, ſtill in the hands of the French.—Reſlections on the conqueſt of Canada.

IN our laſt book we mentioned an expreſs being ſent by Governor Murray to General Amherſt, in conſequence of which his Excellency, on the 25th of May, ordered Major

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Rogers, with a detachment of three hundred men, to enter Canada, that thereby the attention of the enemy might be drawn off, so as to prolong the siege of Quebec, till the men of war, expected to its relief, could get up the river St. Lawrence. As the most effectual method of executing this service, Major Rogers was ordered to fall down the Lake Champlain, under convoy of a brig; then, after laying up his boats, to proceed, by land, with two hundred and fifty men, on the west side of the Lake; get to St. John's, if possible, without the knowledge of the enemy; surprise the fort at that place, and destroy the vessels, boats, provisions; in a word, all the stores he might find laid up there for the use of the French troops at the Isle-Aux-Noix. From hence he was to proceed to Fort-Chamblé, on the same business. In short, he was to destroy every magazine he could meet with, and distress the enemy every other way as much as possible, particularly by sending fifty rangers against Wigwam-Martinique. But, as his arrival and operations must soon be known at the Isle-Aux-Noix, he had likewise directions to keep, in his return, on the east side of that island, in order to prevent his retreat being cut off. In the mean time Lieutenant Grant was to continue cruising in the brig, to be ready to receive the Major on his return. To these orders was added a strong injunction, that neither women nor children should be injured.

On the 4th of June, Major Rogers landed at the place he was ordered, and proceeded on his expedition by land; but, two days after, he was attacked by a party of about three hundred and fifty French, and had sixteen men killed, and ten wounded. The enemy had about forty killed and wounded. After this affair Major Rogers thought proper to return to the Isle de la Motte,

Motte, where Lieutenant Grant was waiting for him in his brig. Here, being joined by the Stockbridge Indian company, he determined, at all events, to set forward again and pursue his orders; first agreeing with Lieutenant Grant upon the place where the latter should cruise to receive him, and on some signals, by which he might know him at his arrival there. On the 9th of June the Major landed, about midnight, on the west shore opposite the Isle de la Motte, and from thence proceeded, as fast as possible, to St. John's; so that by the 15th, in the evening, he found himself but about two miles from the road that led to it from Montreal: the enemy, however, being too alert to be surprised, he marched down the river side to St. Therese, where there was a stockaded fort, defensible against small arms only. The French being carting hay, he seized the opportunity of a cart's being just entering the gate, and rushed into the fort before the carriage could be got clear enough of the gateway to let the gate be shut. The garrison, consisting of twenty-four soldiers, were made prisoners, with seventy or eighty inhabitants, women and children included. From the intelligence he gained here, the attack on Fort Chamblé appeared impracticable. This determined the Major to burn the village and the fort, and destroy every thing in them that could be useful to the enemy. The women and children he sent to Montreal, with proper passes to protect them from any scouting party. He then continued his march on the east side of Lake Champlain; but, as he was passing by Missisquoi-Bay, opposite to the Isle-Aux-Noix, his advanced party was attacked by an advanced detachment of the French, whose main body being about a mile in their rear, they thought proper to fall back upon it, whilst the Major seized the opportunity of pursuing unmolested his march with all possible expedition. On the 20th of June he arrived at that

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part of the banks of the lake, opposite to which Lieutenant Grant was to keep cruizing to receive him; and the lieutenant performed his duty on this occasion, so much like an officer, particularly by keeping a diligent look-out for the appointed signals, that the Major and his party were arrived but a few minutes before Lieutenant Grant had them on board, to the great mortification of a large body of French, who immediately after made their appearance. Lieutenant Holmes, who commanded the fifty rangers sent to Wigwam-Martinique, missed his way by going down a river which falls into the Sorel, instead of that called Wigwam-Martinique, which empties itself into the river St. Lawrence, at Lake Saint Francis.

The necessary preparations having been made to bring the whole power of the British forces in North-America, against Montreal, in order to finish by its reduction the war in that part of the world; and the season being sufficiently advanced to enable Sir Jeffery Amherst, the commander in chief, to commence his part of the operations, he embarked at New-York on the 3d of May, and proceeded to Schenectady. From thence, with part of his army, he pursued his rout to Oswego, where he encamped on the 9th of July. The remainder he ordered to follow with the greatest diligence under the command of Brigadier Gage. On the 14th, two vessels hove in sight on Lake-Ontario, which proving to be those that had been fitted out at Niagara, under the command of Captain Loring, boats were immediately dispatched to him with orders to look out for, and attack the French vessels cruizing on the lake. On the 20th, two other vessels appeared, and proving to be the French vessels which had escaped Captain Loring's vigilance, a small boat was immediately dispatched to cruize

for

for him, with an account of this discovery: and, at the same time, to prevent his being obliged to return to Oswego for want of provisions, the General ordered Captain Willyamoz, with a detachment of one hundred and thirty men in twelve boats, to take post on the Isle-Aux-Iroquois, and supply Captain Loring with every thing he might want. On the 22d, Brigadier Gage arrived with the rear of the army; as did Sir William Johnson, on the 23d, with a party of Indians. On the 24th, the General received intelligence, that the French vessels had escaped into the River St. Lawrence, and that Captain Loring was returning with the Onondaga of sixteen, and the Mohawk of eighteen six-pounders.

On the 5th of August, the General ordered the army, to be in readiness to embark. It now consisted of the following troops.

The first and second battalion of Royal Highlanders,

forty-fourth regiment,

forty-sixth,

fifty-fifth,

fourth battalion of the sixtieth,

Eight companies of the seventy-seventh,

Five of the eightieth,

Five hundred and ninety-seven grenadiers,

Five hundred and ninety-seven light infantry,

One hundred and forty-six rangers,

Three battalions of the New-York regiment,

The New-Jersey regiment,

Four battalions of the Connecticut regiment, and

One hundred and sixty-seven of the Royal Artillery;

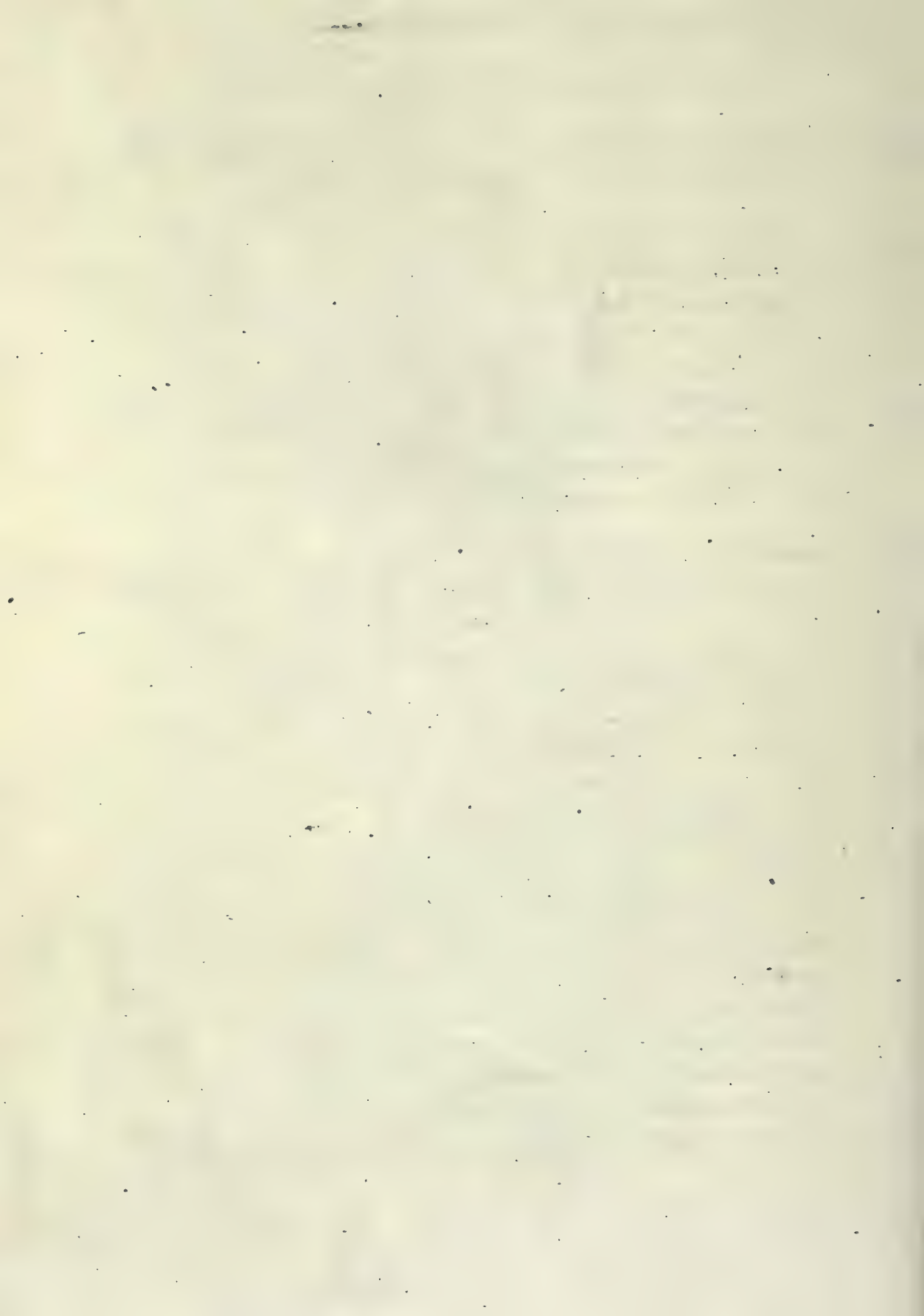
amounting, in the whole, to ten thousand one hundred and
forty-

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forty-two effective men, officers included. The Indians under Sir William Johnson were seven hundred and six.

On the 7th, Captain Loring sailed with his two vessels ; and immediately after the first battalion of Royal Highlanders, the grenadiers of the army commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Massey, with Captain Campbell of the forty-second to assist him as major ; the light infantry commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Amherst, with Captain Delancy, as major to assist him, with Ogden's and Whyte's companies of rangers ; the whole under the command of Colonel Haldiman, embarked and failed to take post at the entrance of the River St. Lawrence.

On the 10th, the General himself embarked, with the Royal Artillery, the regulars, Sir William Johnson and part of his Indians, in boats and whale-boats ; but, the wind being very high, and the water of the lake very rough, they were forced to make for a small creek, at whose entrance there is a very dangerous bar, on which one of the artillery boats was lost. The next day, the weather being a little more moderate, the General, at noon, proceeded for the river de la Motte ; and, on the 12th, was joined by Brigadier Gage, with the provincials, in a bay, where the enemy had lately encamped. On the 13th, the whole embarked ; and that very day encamped, with Colonel Haldiman, at the post which he had taken at the head of the River St. Lawrence. Captain Loring, with his two vessels, having mistaken the channel from the lake to the River St. Lawrence, the army passed him, whilst he was endeavouring to extricate himself. On the 13th, the whole army gained Point de Barril, in the neighbourhood of the post called la-Galette, which Brigadier Gage was ordered to destroy the preceding year. Here the enemy had a very good dock,
in



in which they built their vessels. The grenadiers and light infantry, with the row-gallies, took post that day, without halting, at Oswegatchie, a few miles below the Point de Barril.

All this while, one of the enemy's vessels kept hovering about the army; and, as Captain Loring had not yet got into the right channel, it became necessary, for the safety of the army, either to compel this vessel to retire, or to take her. The General was, therefore, obliged to order Colonel Williamson, with the row-gallies well manned, to do one or the other. On the 17th, the gallies advanced with the utmost intrepidity, under a very heavy fire from the enemy; but it did not in the least damp the ardour of the assailants; their fire was returned with such resolution and bravery, that, after a severe contest of about four hours, the French vessel struck her colours. She mounted ten-twelve pounders; and had on board one hundred men, twelve of whom were killed or wounded. Two of Colonel Williamson's detachment were killed, and three wounded. The General immediately named the vessel the Williamson, in honour of the Colonel, and to perpetuate the memory of so gallant an action. The same day the army proceeded to Oswegatchie, from whence it was necessary to reconnoitre Isle-Royal, so that it was noon the next day before the army could proceed.

Fort-Levi stood on this island, which was otherwise strongly fortified. Though the reduction of Fort-Levi could be of little service, merely as a fort, yet it was, certainly, of too much consequence to be left in the rear of an army: besides, the number of pilots, perfectly acquainted with the intricate navigation of the River St. Lawrence, which the making of the garrison prisoners would afford, was alone a sufficient motive
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for attacking it. It was, therefore, invested that very evening. Whilst the English were passing the point, the French kept up a very smart cannonade on them, and destroyed one of the row-gallies, and a few boats, and killed two or three men; but notwithstanding this fire, and an uninterrupted continuance of it, the fort was so completely invested by the 20th, by the masterly disposition of the troops, as to make it impossible for the garrison to escape.

Captain Loring had arrived the day before with his two vessels, and the Williamson brig; and the batteries being now ready, the General, on the 23d, determined to assault the fort, that as little time as possible might be wasted on it. He, therefore, ordered the vessels to fall down the stream, post themselves as close to the fort as possible, and man their tops well, in order to fire upon the enemy, and prevent their making use of their guns; whilst the grenadiers rowed in with their broad swords and tomahawks, fascines and scaling-ladders, under cover of three hundred of the light infantry, who were to fire into the embrasures. The grenadiers received their orders with a cheerfulness that might be regarded as a sure omen of success; and, with their usual alacrity, prepared for the attack, waiting in their shirts till the ships could take their proper stations. This the Williamson brig, commanded by Lieutenant Sinclair, and the Mohawk, by Lieutenant Phipps, soon did; and both sustained and returned a very heavy fire. But the Onondaga, in which was Captain Loring, by some extraordinary blunder, ran a-ground. The enemy, discovering her distress, plied her with such unceasing showers of great and small arms, that Captain Loring thought proper to strike his colours, and sent Thornton, his master, on shore

shore to the enemy, who endeavoured to take possession of the vessel; but by Colonel Williamson's observing it, he turned upon them a battery, which obliged them to desist from the undertaking. The General then ordered Lieutenant Sinclair, from the Williamson brig, and Lieutenant Pennington, with two detachments of grenadiers under their command, to take possession of the Onondaga; and they obeyed their orders with such undaunted resolution, that the English colours were again hoisted on board her. But the vessel, after all, could not be got off; and was therefore abandoned about midnight. The English batteries, however, put a stop to any future attempt of the enemy to board her. Captain Loring, being wounded, was in the mean time sent ashore. This accident of the Onondaga's running a-ground, obliged the General to defer for the present his plan of assault; but this delay proved rather a fortunate event, as it saved a good deal of blood, for on the 25th, M. Pouchot, the commandant, beat a parley, demanding what terms he might expect; to which no other answer was returned, than that the fort must be immediately delivered up, and the garrison surrender prisoners of war; and but ten minutes were given for a reply. These terms were received within the ten minutes; and Lieutenant-Colonel Massey, with the grenadiers, immediately took possession of the place. The loss of the English before it, was twenty-one men killed, and nineteen wounded. The first shot from the English battery killed the French officer of artillery. Eleven more were killed afterwards, and about forty wounded. The garrison, all to the pilots, for the sake of whom chiefly the place had been attacked, were sent to New-York; and the General named the fort, Fort-William-Augustus.

On the surrender of Fort-Levi, the Indians following the English army prepared, agreeable to their usual bloody cus-

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tom when at war, to enter the fort in order to tomahawk and massacre the garrison. But General Amherst being apprised of their intentions, immediately sent orders to Sir William Johnson, to persuade them, if possible, to desist; declaring, at the same time, that, if they offered to enter the fort, he would compel them to retire. The stores he promised should be delivered to them, as his army was not in want of what few blankets might be found there. This message had its desired effect. The Indians, though with great reluctance and apparent ill humour, were prevailed on to return to their camp. However, their resentment increased to such a degree, that Sir William Johnson informed the General, he was apprehensive they would quit the army, and return to their respective villages and castles. The General replied, "That he believed his army fully sufficient for the service he was going upon, without their assistance; that, although he wished to preserve their friendship, he could not prevail on himself to purchase it at the expence of countenancing the horrid barbarities they wanted to perpetrate; and added, that, if they quitted the army, and on their return should commit any acts of cruelty, he would assuredly chastise them." Upon this, most of these creatures, who amounted to about seven hundred, abandoned Sir William Johnson, and retired to their respective villages and castles, but without committing the least violence. The faithful few, in number about one hundred and seventy, who continued with the army, were afterwards distinguished by medals, which the General gave them, that they might be known at the English posts, and receive the civil treatment their humanity, and their affection for the English, entitled them to.

If the French plan of policy had admitted of similar exertions of humanity towards their prisoners, there is no doubt but

but they might thereby have equally prevented the commission of acts, which, even had they conquered, would have been sufficient to fully the glory of their greatest achievements.

Till the 30th, the army was employed in levelling the batteries, and repairing boats and rafts for the artillery, which was now embarked with the necessary stores ; and, on the 31st, the General, with the first division of the army, consisting of the artillery, the grenadiers and light infantry, the 44th and 55th regiments, the 4th battalion of Royal Americans, and three regiments of provincials, embarked about noon ; and, in the evening, reached the Isle-Aux-Chats, having passed the first rapids. On the 1st of September, they proceeded about ten miles farther, and encamped. On the 2d, Brigadier Gage, with the other division, joined the General, having lost three Highlanders in going over the Falls. The whole now proceeded together, entered Lake St. Francis, and that very evening reached Pointe-Aux-Boudets, where, the weather being extremely bad, the General halted. On the 3d, a prisoner was brought in, who gave intelligence, that Colonel Haviland had taken possession of the Isle-Aux-Noix, the enemy having abandoned it at his approach.

The navigation of the River St. Lawrence is, in this place, perhaps, the most intricate and dangerous of any actually used in North America, without the assistance of pilots accustomed to the force and direction of its various eddies. Though the French had been constantly going up and down this river ever since their possession of Canada, General Amherst's attempt to navigate it in the manner he did, was judged impracticable. No doubt, the route by Lake-George and Lake-Champlain

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might have been the easiest to penetrate by into Canada; but this by the Mohawk-River, Oswego, and the River St. Lawrence, opened a passage, which had as yet been unexplored by the English, and effectually deprived the French of the opportunity of carrying on the war another campaign, by retreating to their unconquered posts at Detroit, and elsewhere to the south. Those who declared the river impracticable to the English, grounded their opinion on the unsuccessfulness of the attempt made on La Galette the preceding year by General Gage; not considering the difference between a feeble irresolute effort, and a strong determined stroke. The pilots taken at Fort-Levi contributed much to the safety of the army in this navigation; or, if it could have been equally safe without their assistance, it would have been much more tedious. The chief art in getting through these rapids with a number of boats, consists in the making them keep a proper distance. Without the greatest attention to this precaution, the lives of those who pass the Cedar-Falls especially, must be in the utmost danger.

It must be confessed, that the appearance of broken rocks and inaccessible islands, interspersed in the current of a rapid river, and the foaming surges rebounding from them, without a direct channel to discharge itself by, presents a scene of horror unknown in Europe; yet the mind, by degrees, soon loses the sensation of terror, and becomes free enough to direct the actions of the body.

On the 4th of September, the General put the army in motion, and it soon cleared the Lake St. Francis, and entered a country lately well inhabited, but now a mere desert. About noon the van of the army entered the Cedar-Falls. This, as

we have already hinted, is by far the most dangerous part of the whole river, and had the boats crowded too close upon each other, most of them must have perished. Accordingly, for want of sufficient precaution, twenty-nine boats belonging to regiments, seventeen whale-boats, seventeen artillery-boats, and one row-galley, were dashed to pieces, with the loss of 88 men; and this too, before, on account of the night's approaching, the whole of the army could get through: what did, encamped on the Isle-Perrot. On the 5th, in the morning, the remainder, taking care to preserve a proper distance, passed the rapid with ease. During the stay the General was obliged to make, to repair the damaged boats, the inhabitants came flocking in, and took the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty. Humanity and clemency ever attended on the victories of the Romans: the princes and people who submitted to their arms were sure of protection; and those who dared to oppose them, were made to feel the weight of their greatness and power. True policy might alone be thought sufficient, especially after such an illustrious example, to make the generals of every nation adopt such conciliating measures. It would have been justly matter of surprise, if, from the natural feelings of his own heart, independant of any other motive, General Amherst had neglected to stretch forth the hand of commiseration to the number of trembling, despairing wretches, who now appeared before him. The blood that had been shed in the wantonness of cruelty, had expunged from their breasts every hope of mercy; and they advanced like culprits approaching a judge to receive the sentence due to their crimes. Full as they were of conscious guilt, how great must have been their joy to find themselves forgiven, restored to their possessions and to their families; to be received

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as friends, and have every necessary provided for them as such; and to crown all, to know, for certain, that they might securely depend on a continuance, or rather an increase of these blessings.

On the 6th, the army passed by the Cocknawaga Indians, who promised the General, that they would observe a strict neutrality: upon which he gave orders that they should not be molested. Soon after, the army, being arrived within a small way of the Falls of St. Lewis, disembarked at La Chine, on the Island of Montreal, about nine miles from the city; which the General immediately marched to, and that night invested; the French army having retired into it. The next day, the following letters passed between the two Generals, and ended in a capitulation, which was signed on the 8th of September 1760.

SIR,

Montreal, Sept. 7th, 1760.

"I send to your Excellency M. de Bougainville, Colonel of foot, accompanied by M. de Lac, Captain in the regiment de la Reine; you may rely on all that the said Colonel shall say to your Excellency in my name. I have the honour, &c.

VAUDREUIL."

SIR,

Camp before Montreal, Sept. 7th, 1760.

"I am to thank your Excellency for the letter you honoured me with this morning by Colonel Bougainville, since which, the terms of capitulation, which you demand, have been delivered to me. I send them back to your Excellency, with those I have resolved to grant you; and there only remains for me to desire, that your Excellency will take your resolution as soon as possible, as I shall make no alteration in them.

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"If your Excellency accepts of these conditions, you may be assured that I will take care they shall be duly executed; and that I shall take a particular pleasure in alleviating your fate as much as possible, by procuring to you and your suite, all the conveniencies that depend on me. I have the honour, &c.

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JEFF. AMHERST."

SIR,

Montreal, Sept. 7th, 1760.

"I have received the letter your Excellency has honoured me with this day, as well as the answer to the articles which I had caused to be proposed to you by M. de Bougainville. I send the said Colonel back to your Excellency; and I persuade myself that you will allow him to make, by word of mouth, a representation to your Excellency, which I cannot dispense with myself from making. I have the honour, &c.

VAUDREUIL."

SIR,

Camp before Montreal, Sept. 7th, 1760.

"Major Abercrombie has this moment delivered to me the letter with which your Excellency has honoured me, in answer to that which I had addressed to you with the conditions on which I expect that Canada shall surrender: I have already had the honour to inform your Excellency, that I should not make any alteration in them: I cannot deviate from this resolution: Your Excellency will therefore be pleased to take a determination immediately, and acquaint me in your answer, whether you will accept of them or not. I have the honour, &c.

JEFF. AMHERST."

SIR,

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SIR,

Montreal, Sept. 7th, 1760.

"I send to your Excellency M. de Lapause, Assistant Quarter-Master-General to the army, on the subject of the too rigorous article which you impose on the troops by the capitulation, and to which it would not be possible for us to subscribe. Be pleased to consider the severity of that article. I flatter myself that you will be pleased to give ear to the representations that officer will make to you on my part, and have regard to them. I have the honour to be, &c.

LE CHEVALIER DE LEVI."

SIR,

Camp before Montreal, Sept. 7th, 1760.

"The letter which you sent me by M. de Lapause has this instant been delivered to me: All I have to say in answer to it is, that I cannot alter in the least the conditions which I have offered to the Marquis de Vaudreuil: And I expect his definitive answer by the bearer, on his return. On every other occasion I shall be glad to convince you of the consideration with which I am, &c.

JEFF. AMHERST."

SIR,

Montreal, Sept. 8th, 1760.

"I have determined to accept the conditions which your Excellency proposes. In consequence whereof, I desire you will come to a determination with regard to the measures to be taken relative to the signing of the said articles. I have the honour to be, &c.

VAUDREUIL."

SIR,

Camp before Montreal, Sept. 8th, 1760.

"In order to fulfil so much the sooner on my part the execution of the conditions which your Excellency has just determined

mined to accept. I would propose that you should sign the articles which I sent yesterday to your Excellency; and that you would send them back to me by Major Abercrombie, that a duplicate may be made of them immediately, which I shall sign and send to your Excellency.

I repeat here the assurances of the desire I have to procure to your Excellency, and to the officers and troops under your command, all possible convenience and protection; for which purpose, I reckon that you will judge it proper that I should cause possession to be taken of the gates, and place guards immediately after the reciprocal signature of the capitulation: However, I shall leave this to your own convenience, since I propose it only with a view of maintaining good order, and to prevent, with the greater certainty, any thing being attempted against the good faith and the terms of capitulation; in order to which, I shall give the command of those troops to Colonel Haldimand, who, I am persuaded, will be agreeable to you. I have the honour, &c.

JEFF. AMHERST.

SIR, Camp before Montreal, Sept. 8th, 1763.

I have just sent to your Excellency, by Major Abercrombie, a duplicate of the capitulation which you have signed this morning; and in conformity thereto, and to the letters which have passed between us, I likewise send Colonel Haldimand to take possession of one of the gates of the town, in order to enforce the observation of good order, and prevent differences on both sides.

I flatter myself, that you will have room to be fully satisfied with my choice of the said Colonel on this occasion. I have the honour, &c.

JEFF. AMHERST.

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The capitulation agreed to in consequence of these letters was as follows :

Articles of Capitulation between his Excellency General Amherst, commander in chief of his Britannic Majesty's troops and forces in North-America, and his Excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Grand-Croix of the royal and military order of St. Lewis, governor and lieutenant-general for the King in Canada.

ARTICLE I. Twenty-four hours after the signing of the present capitulation, the English General shall cause the troops of his Britannic Majesty to take possession of the gates of the town of Montreal ; and the English garrison shall not come into the place till after the French troops shall have evacuated it.

Answer. The whole garrison of Montreal must lay down their arms, and shall not serve during the present war. Immediately after the signing of the present capitulation, the King's troops shall take possession of the gates, and shall post the guards necessary to preserve good order in the town.

II. The troops, and the militia, who are in garrison in the town of Montreal, shall go out with all the honours of war, six pieces of cannon and one mortar, which shall be put on board the vessel where the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall embark, with ten rounds for each piece. The same shall be granted to the garrison of Trois-Rivieres, as to the honours of war.

III. The troops and militia who are in garrison in the fort of Jacques-Cartier, and in the Island of St. Helen, and other forts, shall

shall be treated in the same manner, and shall have the same honours ; and these troops shall go to Montreal, or Trois-Rivieres, or Quebec, to be there embarked for the first sea-port in France, by the shortest way. The troops who are in our posts, situated on our frontiers, on the side of Acadia, at Detroit, Michilimakinac, and other posts, shall enjoy the same honours, and be treated in the same manner.

Answer. All these troops are not to serve during the present war, and shall likewise lay down their arms. The rest is granted.

IV. The militia after being come out of the above towns, forts, and posts, shall return to their homes, without being molested on any pretence whatever, on account of their having carried arms.

GRANTED.

V. The troops who keep the field, shall raise their camp, and march, drums beating, with their arms, baggage, and artillery, to join the garrison of Montreal, and shall be treated in every respect the same.

Answer. These troops, as well as the others, must lay down their arms.

VI. The subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and of his Most Christian Majesty, soldiers, militia, or seamen, who shall have deserted, or left the service of their Sovereign, and carried arms in North-America, shall be, on both sides, pardoned for their crimes ; and shall be respectively returned to their country ; if not, each shall remain where he is, without being sought after, or molested.

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VII. The magazines, the artillery, firelocks, fabres, ammunition of war, and in general every thing that belongs to his Most Christian Majesty, as well in the towns of Montreal and Trois-Rivieres, as in the forts and posts mentioned in the third article, shall be delivered up, according to exact inventories, to the commissaries, who shall be appointed to receive the same in the name of his Britannic Majesty. Duplicates of the said inventories shall be given to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

Answer. This is every thing that can be asked on this article.

VIII. The officers, soldiers, militia, seamen, and even the Indians, detained on account of their wounds or sickness, as well in the hospital as in private houses, shall enjoy the privileges of the cartel, and be treated accordingly.

Answer. The sick and wounded shall be treated the same as our own people.

IX. The English General shall engage to send back to their own homes the Indians and Morians, who make part of his armies, immediately after the signing of the present capitulation. And in the mean time, in order to prevent all disorders on the part of those who may not be gone away, the said General shall give safe-guards to such persons as shall desire them, as well in the town as in the country.

Answer. The first part refused. There never has been any cruelties committed by the Indians of our army; and good order shall be preserved.

X. His Britannic Majesty's General shall be answerable for all disorders on the part of his troops, and oblige them to pay the

the damages they may do, as well in the towns as in the countries.

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Answer. Answered by the preceding article.

XI. The English General shall not oblige the Marquis de Vaudreuil to leave the town of Montreal before the and no person shall be lodged in his house till he is gone. The Chevalier de Levi, commander of the land forces; the principal officers and majors of the land forces, and of the colony troops; the engineers, officers of the artillery, and commissary of war, shall also remain at Montreal to the said day, and shall keep their lodgings there. The same shall be observed with regard to M. Bigot, intendant, the commissaries of marine and writers, whom the said M. Bigot shall have occasion for; and no person shall be lodged at the intendant's house before he shall be gone.

Answer. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, and all these gentlemen, shall be masters of their houses, and shall embark when the King's ships shall be ready to sail for Europe; and all possible conveniencies shall be granted them.

XII. The most convenient vessel that can be found shall be appointed to carry the Marquis de Vaudreuil, by the shortest passage, to the first sea-port in France. The necessary accommodations shall be made for him, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, M. de Rigaud, Governor of Montreal, and the suite of this General. This vessel shall be properly victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty; and the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall take with him his papers, without their being examined, and his equipages, plate, baggage, and all those of his suite.

GRANTED;

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GRANTED; except the archives, which shall be necessary for the government of the country.

XIII. If before, or after, the embarkation of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, news of peace should arrive, and that, by the treaty, Canada should remain to his Most Christian Majesty, the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall return to Quebec or Montreal, every thing shall return to its former state under the dominion of his Most Christian Majesty, and the present capitulation shall become null and of no effect.

Answer. Whatever the King may have done on this subject, shall be obeyed.

XIV. Two ships shall be appointed to carry to France the Chevalier de Levi, the principal officers, and the staff of the land forces, the engineers, officers of artillery, and their suite. These vessels shall likewise be victualled, and the necessary accommodations provided in them. The said officers shall take with them their papers, without being examined and also their equipages and baggage. Such of the said officers as shall be married, shall have liberty to take with them their wives and children, who shall also be victualled.

GRANTED; except that the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and all the officers of whatever rank they may be, shall faithfully deliver up to us all the charts and plans of the country.

XV. A vessel shall also be appointed for the passage of M. Bigot, the intendant, with his suite. In which vessel the proper accommodations shall be made for him, and the persons he shall take with him: he shall likewise embark with him his papers, which shall not be examined, his equipages, plate,

plate, and baggage, and those of his suite. This vessel shall also be victualled as before-mentioned.

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GRANTED, with the same reserve as in the preceding article.

XVI. The English General shall also order the necessary and most convenient vessels to carry to France M. de Longuevil, Governor of Trois-Rivieres, the staff of the colony, and the commissary of the marine: They shall embark therein their families, servants, baggage, and equipages; and they shall be properly victualled during the passage, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty.

GRANTED.

XVII. The officers and soldiers, as well of the land forces, as of the colony, and also the marine officers and seamen who are in the colony, shall be likewise embarked for France, and sufficient and convenient vessels shall be appointed for them. The land and sea officers who shall be married, shall take with them their families, and all of them shall have liberty to embark their servants and baggage. As to the soldiers and seamen, those who are married, shall take with them their wives and children, and all of them shall embark their havresacks and baggage. These vessels shall be properly and sufficiently victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty.

GRANTED.

XVIII. The officers, soldiers, and all the followers of the troops, who shall have their baggage in the field, may send for it before they depart, without any hindrance or molestation.

GRANTED.

XIX.

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XIX. An hospital-ship shall be provided by the English General, for such of the wounded and sick officers, soldiers, and seamen, as shall be in a condition to be carried to France, and shall likewise be victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty.

It shall be the same with regard to the other wounded and sick officers, soldiers, and sailors, as soon as they shall be recovered, they shall be at liberty to carry with them their wives, children, servants, and baggage; and the said soldiers and sailors shall not be solicited or forced to enter into the service of his Britannic Majesty.

GRANTED.

XX. A commissary, and one of the King's writers, shall be left to take care of the hospitals, and of whatever may relate to the service of his Most Christian Majesty.

GRANTED.

XXI. The English General shall also provide ships for carrying to France the officers of the supreme council of justice, police, admiralty, and all other officers, having commissions or brevets from his Most Christian Majesty, for them, their families, servants, and equipages, as well as for the other officers; and they shall likewise be victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty. They shall, however, be at liberty to stay in the colony, if they think proper, to settle their affairs, or to withdraw to France, whenever they think fit.

GRANTED; but if they have papers relating to the government of the country, they are to be delivered to us.

XXII.

XXII. If there are any military officers, whose affairs should require their presence in the colony till next year, they shall have liberty to stay in it, after having obtained the permission of the Marquis de Vaudreuil for that purpose, and without being reputed prisoners of war.

1-66.

Answer. All those whose private affairs shall require their stay in the country, and who shall have the Marquis de Vaudreuil's leave for so doing, shall be allowed to remain till their affairs are settled.

XXIII. The commissary for the king's provisions, shall be at liberty to stay in Canada till next year, in order to be enabled to answer the debts he has contracted in the colony, on account of what he has furnished; but if he should prefer to go to France this year, he shall be obliged to leave, till next year, a person to transact his business. This private person shall preserve, and have liberty to carry off all his papers, without being inspected. His clerks shall have leave to stay in the colony, or go to France; and in this last case, a passage and subsistence shall be allowed them on board the ships of his Britannic Majesty, for them, their families, and their baggage.

GRANTED.

XXIV. The provisions and other kind of stores which shall be found in the magazines of the Commissary, as well in the town of Montreal, and of Trois-Rivieres, as in the country, shall be preserved to him; the said provisions belonging to him and not to the king, and he shall be at liberty to sell them to the French or English.

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Answer.

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Answer. Every thing that is actually in the magazines, destined for the use of the troops, is to be delivered to the English Commissary for the King's forces.

XXV. A passage to France shall likewise be granted on board of his Majesty's ships, as well as victuals, to such officers of the India Company as shall be willing to go thither; and they shall take with them their families, servants, and baggage. The chief agent of the said Company, in case he should chuse to go to France, shall be allowed to leave such person as he shall think proper, till next year, to settle the affairs of the said company, and to recover such sums as are due to them. The said chief agent shall keep possession of all the papers belonging to the said Company, and they shall not be liable to inspection.

GRANTED.

XXVI. The said Company shall be maintained in the property of the earlatines and castors, which they may have in the town of Montreal; they shall not be touched under any pretence whatever, and the necessary facilities shall be given to the chief agent, to send this year his castors to France, on board his Britannic Majesty's ships, paying the freight on the same footing as the English would pay it.

GRANTED, with regard to what may belong to the Company, or to private persons; but if his Most Christian Majesty has any share in it, that must become the property of the King.

XXVII. The free exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, shall subsist entire; in such manner, that all the

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the states, and the people of the towns and countries, places and distant posts, shall continue to assemble in the churches, and to frequent the sacraments as heretofore, without being molested in any manner, directly or indirectly.

These people shall be obliged, by the English government, to pay to the priests, the tithes and all the taxes they were used to pay under the government of his Most Christian Majesty.

GRANTED, as to the free exercise of their religion. The obligation of paying the tithes to the priests, will depend on the King's pleasure.

XXVIII. The chapter, priests, curates, and missionaries, shall continue, with an entire liberty, their exercise and functions of their cures, in the parishes of the towns and countries.

GRANTED.

XXIX. The grand vicars, named by the chapter to administer to the diocese during the vacancy of the episcopal see, shall have liberty to dwell in the towns or country parishes, as they shall think proper. They shall at all times be free to visit the different parishes of the diocese, with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction they exercised under the French dominion. They shall enjoy the same rights in case of death of the future bishop, of which mention will be made in the following article.

GRANTED, except what regards the following article.

XXX. If, by the treaty of peace, Canada should remain in the power of his Britannic Majesty, his Most Christian Majesty

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shall continue to name the bishop of the colony, who shall always be of the Roman communion; and under whose authority the people shall exercise the Roman religion.

REFUSED.

XXXI. The bishop shall, in case of need, establish new parishes, and provide for the rebuilding of his cathedral and his episcopal palace; and, in the mean time, he shall have the liberty to dwell in the town or parishes, as he shall judge proper. He shall have liberty to visit his diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction which his predecessor exercised under the French dominion, save that an oath of fidelity, or a promise to do nothing contrary to his Britannic Majesty's service, may be required of him.

Answer. This article is comprised under the foregoing.

XXXII. The communities of nuns shall be preserved in their constitutions and privileges; they shall continue to observe their rules; they shall be exempted from lodging any military, and it shall be forbid to trouble them in their religious exercises, or to enter their monasteries: Safeguards shall even be given them, if they desire them.

GRANTED.

XXXIII. The preceding article shall likewise be executed with regard to the communities of Jesuits and Recolets, and of the house of the priests of St. Sulpice at Montreal. These last, and the Jesuits, shall preserve their right to nominate to certain curacies and missions, as heretofore.

REFUSED till the King's pleasure be known.

XXXIV.

XXXIV. All the communities, and all the priests, shall preserve their moveables, the property and revenues of the Seignories, and other estates which they possess in the colony, of what nature soever they may be. And the same estates shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions.

GRANTED.

XXXV. If the canons, priests, missionaries, the priests of the seminary of the foreign missions, and of St. Sulpice, as well as the Jesuits and the Recolets, chuse to go to France, passage shall be granted them in his Britannic Majesty's ships; and they shall all have leave to sell, in whole or in part, the estates and moveables which they possess in the colonies, either to the French or to the English, without the least hindrance or obstacle from the British government.

They may take with them or send to France, the produce, of what nature soever it be, of the said goods sold, paying the freight, as mentioned in the twenty-sixth article. And such of the said priests who chuse to go this year, shall be victualled during the passage, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty; and shall take with them their baggage.

Answer. They shall be masters to dispose of their estates, and to send the produce thereof, as well as their persons, and all that belongs to them, to France.

XXXVI. If, by the treaty of peace, Canada remains to his Britannic Majesty, all the French, Canadians, Acadians, merchants, and other persons, who chuse to retire to France, shall have leave to do so, from the English General, who

HISTORY OF THE

shall procure them a passage. And nevertheless, if, from this time to that decision, any French or Canadian merchants, or other persons, shall desire to go to France, they shall likewise have leave from the English General. Both the one and the other shall take with them their families, servants, and baggage.

GRANTED.

XXXVII. The lords of manors, the military and civil officers, the Canadians, as well in the towns as in the country, the French settled or trading in the whole extent of the colony of Canada, and all other persons whatsoever, shall preserve the entire peaceable property and possession of their goods, noble and ignoble, moveable and immoveable, merchandises, furs, and other effects, even their ships; they shall not be touched, nor the least damage done to them, on any pretence whatsoever. They shall have liberty to keep, let, or sell them, as well to the French as to the English; to take away the produce of them in bills of exchange, furs, specie, or other returns, whenever they shall judge proper to go to France, paying their freight, as in the twenty-sixth article. They shall also have the furs which are in the posts above, and which belong to them, and may be on the way to Montreal: And for this purpose, they shall have leave to send this year, or the next, canoes, fitted out to fetch such of the said furs as shall have remained in those posts.

GRANTED, as in the twenty-sixth article.

XXXVIII. All the people who have left Acadia, and who shall be found in Canada, including the frontiers of Canada, on the side of Acadia, shall have the same treatment as the Canadians, and shall enjoy the same privileges.

Answer. The King is to dispose of his ancient subjects : In the mean time, they shall enjoy the same privilege as the Canadians.

XXXIX. None of the Canadians, Acadians, or French, who are now in Canada, and on the frontiers of the colony on the side of Acadia, Detroit, Michilimakinac, and other places and posts of the countries above, the married and unmarried soldiers remaining in Canada, shall be carried or transported into the English colonies, or to Old England, and they shall not be troubled for having carried arms.

GRANTED ; except with regard to the Canadians.

XL. The savages, or Indian allies of his Most Christian Majesty, shall be maintained in the lands they inhabit, if they chuse to remain there ; they shall not be molested on any pretence whatsoever, for having carried arms, and served his Most Christian Majesty. They shall have, as well as the French, liberty of religion, and shall keep their missionaries. The actual vicars-general, and the bishop, when the episcopal see shall be filled, shall have leave to send to them new missionaries when they shall judge it necessary.

GRANTED ; except the last article, which has been already refused.

XLI. The French, Canadians, and Acadians, of what state and condition soever, who shall remain in the colony, shall not be forced to take arms against his Most Christian Majesty, or his allies, directly or indirectly, on any occasion whatsoever. The British government shall only require of them an exact neutrality.

Answer. They become subjects of the King.

XLII.

1760.

XLII. The French and Canadians shall continue to be governed according to the custom of Paris, and the laws and usages established for this country; and they shall not be subject to any other imposts than those that were established under the French dominions.

ANSWERED by the preceding articles, and particularly by the last.

XLIII. The papers of the government shall remain, without exception, in the power of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and shall go to France with him. These papers shall not be examined on any pretence whatsoever.

GRANTED, with the reserve already made.

XLIV. The papers of the intendency, of the officers of comptroller of the marine, of the ancient and new treasures, of the King's magazines, of the office of the revenues, and forces of St. Maurice, shall remain in the power of M. Bigott, the intendant, and they shall be embarked for France in the same vessel with him. These papers shall not be examined.

Answer. The same as to this article.

XLV. The registers, and other papers of the supreme council of Quebec, of the provost and admiralty of the said city; those of the royal jurisdictions of Trois-Rivieres, and of Montreal; those of the Seigneurial jurisdictions of the colony; the minutes of the acts of the notaries of the towns and of the countries; and, in general, the acts, and other papers that may serve to prove the estates and fortunes of the citizens, shall remain in the colony, in the rolls of the jurisdictions on which these papers depend.

GRANTED.

XLVI.

XLVI. The inhabitants and merchants shall enjoy all the privileges of trade under the same favours and conditions granted to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, as well in the countries, as in the interior of the colony.

GRANTED.

XLVII. The negroes and panis of both sexes shall remain, in their quality of slaves, in the possession of the French and Canadians, to whom they belong; they shall be at liberty to keep them in their service in the colony, or to sell them; and they may also continue to bring them up in the Roman religion.

GRANTED; except those who shall have been made prisoners.

XLVIII. The Marquis de Vaudreuil; the General and staff officers of the land-forces; the governors and staff officers of the different places of the colony; the military and civil officers, and all other persons who shall leave the colony, or who already are absent, shall have leave to name and appoint attornies to act for them, and in their name, in the administration of their effects, moveable and immoveable, until the peace: And if, by the treaty between the two crowns, Canada does not return under the French dominion, these officers, or other persons, or attornies for them, shall have leave to sell their manors, houses, and other estates, their moveables and effects, &c. and to carry away or send to France the produce, either in bills of exchange, specie, furs, or other returns, as is mentioned in the thirty-seventh article.

GRANTED.

1760.

XLIX. The inhabitants and other persons who shall have suffered any damage in their goods, moveable or immoveable, which remained at Quebec, under the faith of the capitulation of that city, may make their representations to the British government, who shall render them due justice against the person to whom it shall belong.

GRANTED.

L. And last, The present capitulation shall be inviolably executed in all its articles, and *bona fide* on both sides, notwithstanding any infraction, and any other pretence with regard to preceding capitulations, and without making use of reprisals.

GRANTED.

P O S T S C R I P T.

LI. The English General shall engage, in case any Indians remain after the surrender of this town, to prevent their coming into the towns; and that they do not, in any manner, insult the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty.

Answer. Care shall be taken, that the Indians do not insult any of the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty.

LII. The troops, and other subjects of his Most Christian Majesty, who are to go to France, shall be embarked, at latest, fifteen days after the signing of the present capitulation.

ANSWERED by the eleventh article.

LIII. The troops, and other subjects of his Most Christian Majesty, who are to go to France, shall remain lodged and encamped in the town of Montreal, and other posts, which they now occupy, till they shall be embarked for their departure:

Passports,

Passports, however, shall be granted to those who shall want them, for the different places of the colony, to take care of their affairs.

GRANTED.

LIV. All the officers and soldiers of the troops in the service of France, who are prisoners in New England, and who were taken in Canada, shall be sent back, as soon as possible, to France, where their ransom or exchange shall be treated of, agreeable to the cartel; and if any of these officers have affairs in Canada, they shall have leave to come there.

GRANTED.

LV. As to the officers of the militia, and the Acadians, who are prisoners in New England, they shall be sent back to their countries.

GRANTED; except what regards the Acadians.

Done at Montreal, Sept. 8th, 1760.

VAUDREUIL.

Done in the Camp before Montreal, Sept. 8th, 1760.

JEFF. AMHERST.

Thus have we seen all Canada surrender, by capitulation, to his Excellency General Amherst; yet, were it not that two other armies were in the neighbourhood of Montreal, it is most probable the French would have risked the fate of a battle, before they formally parted with their country. They saw it was impossible to defeat the measures the English General had taken to form a junction with the other armies, in

1750.

which case he would have been not only much superior to them in numbers, but better provided with ammunition and warlike stores, to carry on the business of a siege, in case they shut themselves up in Montreal. And this place was, besides, in too defenceless a state to sustain a regular attack, with any reasonable view of protracting the fall of Canada long enough to answer any good purpose. It was on these principles M. de Vaudreuil, no longer supported by the hopes of being able to preserve his government under the dominion of France, capitulated with the Commander in Chief of the British forces. But since General Amherst's plan to reduce Canada comprehended, as we have said, his being joined by an army from Quebec, and another by the Lake Champlain, we must therefore give an account of the progress of these armies to the neighbourhood of Montreal, where we just now mentioned their being arrived.

The critical arrival of Commodore Swanton before Quebec, by relieving Governor Murray from the dangers with which he was surrounded, gave him an opportunity of pursuing such measures as were most likely to restore the troops of his garrison to their former health and vigour. In October 1759, the garrison of Quebec consisted of upwards of seven thousand three hundred effective men; but by the severity of the ensuing winter, and the incredible fatigues incident to a campaign in that season of the year, it was, by the month of June 1760, reduced to considerably less than six thousand. Out of these, besides, there could not be mustered more than two thousand five hundred fit for duty. But the return of warm weather, and a good supply of milk and other summer refreshments, contributed so much to the speedy recovery of the rest, that Governor Mur-
ray

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ray now found himself in a situation to comply with the orders of the Commander in Chief, and prepare to join him before Montreal, with a corps of two thousand four hundred and fifty effective men, officers included, besides leaving a sufficient number to do the garrison duty of Quebec, and contain the conquered, should they attempt any thing against it, during his absence. The troops he took with him, consisting of detachments from the regiments in garrison, were formed into seven battalions, and these into two brigades; the first of which was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Burton, and the second by the Honourable Lieutenant Colonel Howe, as brigadiers. The whole commanded by himself in person.

On the 5th of June, this little army encamped near the town, whilst the squadron that was to transport it, worked up and anchored near the encampment. On the 13th it embarked, and on the 14th sailed with a fair wind. The squadron was commanded by Captain Deane, and consisted of

The Penzance	-	40 guns
Diana	-	36
Porcupine	-	16
		8
Five gallies	-	1 twenty-pounder each
Four ditto	-	1 twelve-pounder each
Forty transports		
Twenty-six boats.		

On the 15th, in the morning, the fleet passed under the cannon of Jaques-Cartier; but without receiving the least injury, though

1763.

though the French fired very briskly; and then anchored about a mile above Du-Platon. Upon this the French abandoned Jaques-Cartier, and proceeded to Dechambaud, in order to prevent the English putting any troops on shore at that place.

Dechambaud is a point that stretches out into the River St. Lawrence, on the north-side, and commands the pass at the Rapids of Richlieu. Here the French had erected a battery to stop the fleet, and likewise some redoubts and intrenchments, to prevent a debarkation: however, on the 16th, part of the fleet got through the Rapids, under a heavy fire from the battery, which proved ineffectual; but the wind slackening, the remainder could not follow. By this accident the army was divided, and lay twelve days, part above and part below the Rapids, for want of wind sufficient to enable the latter to stem the current. During this interval, Governor Murray made it a practice to land every day some part of his troops, as well to refresh them, as to strike a terror into the inhabitants, whom he at the same time informed by a manifesto, that such of them as did not deliver up their arms, and take the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, should have their houses reduced to ashes. One of these parties, which landed on the south shore, surprised a guard of the French commanded by M. Hartel, who was mortally wounded in this affair, and taken prisoner. M. Hartel had distinguished himself as an excellent partizan during the whole war. On the 27th, the wind springing up in a direction favourable to that part of the fleet below the Rapids, it came up the river. If the six French vessels, which were destroyed at the siege of Quebec, had escaped and been stationed above the Rapids, it would have been impossible for the English to have passed them; and

Governor

Governor Murray would, of course, have been obliged to carry on his operations by land. This would have exposed his little army to a very disagreeable march, in which the French would have had many advantages over him, from the number of rivers and narrow passes, which distinguish this country from most others.

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On the 8th of August the fleet passed Trois-Rivières, where the French had thrown up many intrenchments, and on the 12th it anchored opposite to Sorel: here the French had likewise intrenched themselves, to prevent a junction of the troops under Governor Murray with those that might come from Lake-Champlain.

M. Dumat, who had observed the fleet since its departure from Quebec, with the pickets of the French army, the light cavalry, and a body of Canadians, making in the whole about three thousand men, abandoned every post, one after the other, immediately on the fleet's getting up beyond them; leaving at Jaques-Cartier but forty men, a small guard at Dechambaud, and only two hundred at Trois-Rivières. A detachment of three hundred men had, indeed, been posted at St. François, with a view to prevent the communication between Governor Murray and Brigadier Haviland; but they now returned to Sorel, where M. Bourlemaque commanded a corps of about four thousand men, most of them regulars.

We left the fleet at anchor opposite to Sorel. General Amherst having ordered two regiments from the garrison of Louisbourg, to cover the retreat of Governor Murray from Quebec, if it should become necessary for him to abandon that place; and the Governor having now received intelligence of their arrival

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there, he sent for them, and dispatched some flat-bottomed boats to take them in, and thereby accelerate their joining him in his present station, where he resolved to wait their arrival.

M. de Levi had now taken upon him the command of the French troops that were employed to observe the English fleet; and M. Dumat was ordered to Berthier, a village on the north side of the River St. Lawrence opposite Sorel, with a view to prevent Governor Murray from making a descent on the island of St. Ignatius; notwithstanding which all the English troops landed on that island, in order that the transports might be thoroughly cleaned.

Governor Murray now dispatched a serjeant with twelve rangers to Colonel Haviland, to inform him of his strength; but he exaggerated it greatly in some letters, which the serjeant was to give up as all he was charged with, in case he fell into the hands of the French; the true state of things being confined to others concealed between the soles of his shoes. He also sent a Canadian on the same errand, but by a rout in which he was certain he could not escape; and in his dispatches by him, he declared his intentions to attack Montreal. The Canadian was taken, as the Governor intended; and, after being examined by the French commander, hanged up by his orders, as an enemy to his country.

On the 17th of August, Lord Rollo came up with the twenty-second and fortieth regiments; but the wind abating, he was obliged to drop anchor about a league from Trois Rivières. Here he received a verbal message from General Murray by Lieutenant Cocks of the navy, requesting his lordship to make all the dispatch he possibly could to join him.

Lord

Lord Rollo had with him Lieutenant Garnier of the navy, who had been sent by Lord Colville, with proper instructions from his lordship, to conduct the transports up the River St. Lawrence. Opposite to Trois-Rivieres, the river is divided into two channels; the one, immediately under the cannon of that place; and the other, out of their reach. General Murray chose to take his passage by the latter, notwithstanding his ships of war and the artillery, with which the rest of his fleet was provided; and Lieutenant Garnier intended to use it likewise for Lord Rollo's transports. But just as he had made the necessary preparations for that purpose, by disposing his boats on the shoals and sands, the better to shew the deep water to the other vessels, Lieutenant Cock came on board Lord Rollo; and being an older officer than Mr. Garnier, insisted on taking upon him the command of the fleet, though, as we have said before, Mr. Garnier had been sent by Lord Colville with Lord Rollo, for that express purpose.

Lord Rollo did not think proper to make any opposition to Mr. Cock's pretensions. He put the transports under his direction, contenting himself with saying, "That Mr. Cock must abide by the consequences." Mr. Garnier, whose instructions, as we have already said, were to go by the channel farthest from Trois-Rivieres, told Lord Rollo he would engage to conduct him in safety, if he chose to follow him; that he did not however mean to dictate to his lordship, but on the other hand, could not help owning, that he was apprehensive some fatal consequences must attend the attempting the channel under the cannon of the place, especially as his lordship had none in his fleet to bring against them. But, notwithstanding

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ing all these declarations, Mr. Cock still persisted in his resolution to carry the transports through that very channel; and Lord Rollo getting into the headmost ship along with Mr. Cock, gave orders for the fleet to follow them. A favourable wind now springing up, the vessels got under way to attempt the passage. Lord Rollo having, during the time he lay at anchor, sent several parties on shore to disarm the peasants, and oblige them to take the oaths of allegiance, his name by that means became perfectly well known to the Canadians, and they had sense enough to make the proper use of it. As his vessels were stemming the current of the river, that which carried his lordship was hailed, and asked in English, If Lord Rollo was on board? As the asking of this question was not suspected to proceed from any hostile design, it was answered in the affirmative. Nothing more, however, passed at that time; but when the vessel had got a little higher she was again hailed, and the same question repeated in French, and the same answer given. By this time, the ship had advanced to within three hundred yards of Trois-Rivieres, when she received a sudden salute of grape-shot from the courtin of a bastion. However, his lordship having taken the precaution to send the soldiers between the decks, none of them received any hurt. When the other transports saw Lord Rollo thus fired on, they tacked about, fell down with the stream, and were presently out of the reach of the cannon. But Mr. Cock obstinately persisted in his attempt to get up the river by the channel he was in, in spite of a brisk fire, not only from the before-mentioned bastion, but from two pieces of cannon placed on an eminence above the town. From the glaring absurdity of daring danger in such a manner, it may seem very extraordinary,

extraordinary, that Lord Rollo did not interpose his authority, and take the navigation, which General Murray had before experienced to be the safe one. To suffer a verbal message to supersede a person, who was expressly ordered by Lord Colville to conduct the transports to General Murray, is not to be accounted for. There is no danger that British resolution will not cheerfully encounter, when it has for its object an apparent advantage: but wantonly to expose the lives of men to self-opinion and obstinacy, must effectually destroy the very idea of glory. What recompence can be made to a carpenter who lost his arm, to Captain Malcolm, then an ensign in the twenty-second regiment, who lost his leg, in this very extraordinary instance of weakness on the part of Lord Rollo, and of obstinacy in that of Mr. Cock, not to mention a poor lad who lost his leg likewise; but whom the humanity of General Murray has since provided for, by apprenticing him to a trade, by which he may earn a comfortable living. Disobedience to orders is scarcely ever to be warranted; but, on this occasion, General Murray thought it so commendable, that he thanked Major Saintlo for quitting Lord Rollo, and following Lieutenant Garnier, who conducted the major's and the other transports safe through the channel he had proposed for the whole fleet.

M. de Levi and M. Bourlemaque now quitted their post, and came opposite to the fleet; upon which General Murray ordered part of it, and the troops on board, to fall down the river opposite to Sorel, where they had been before; as the inhabitants had taken up arms, and burnt and destroyed all the houses they could. This they accordingly did on the 21st of August, in the face of the troops that M. Bourlemaque had left to protect them.

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The Canadians seeing they could hope for no security against the arms of the English, and finding themselves attacked where they imagined themselves safest, became dispirited to such a degree, that they deserted in crowds, and delivered up their arms to General Murray.

On the 27th of August, all the fleet made sail, and anchored in the evening between the Isle-Therefe and the church of Varannes. The General took post on the island, with the light infantry, intending to remain there, till he should receive farther intelligence from General Amherst. In the mean time, as he was but about three leagues and a half from Montreal, he ordered his vessels to proceed, till they were just without cannon-shot of that place.

General Murray, having in view the opening of a communication with General Amherst and Colonel Haviland, ordered a detachment to dislodge the enemy at Varannes; and as soon as this service was performed, landed the rest of his army, and encamped on the Island of St. Therefe.

On the 7th of September, Governor Murray ordered his troops to reembark; and soon after landed them without opposition at the lower end of the parish of Point-au-Tremble on the Island of Montreal. On the 8th, he marched to the north-east side of the city, where he immediately encamped.

The troops ordered to join General Amherst before Montreal, by the way of Lake-Champlain, and under the command of Colonel Haviland, were assembled at Crown-Point, with every thing necessary to facilitate the expedition. They consisted of
Four

Four companies of the Royal, making	—	300 men
Seventeenth regiment	—	600
Twenty-seventh	—	600
New-Hampshire Provincials	—	250
Rhode-Island Provincials	—	250
Massachusetts's Provincials	—	1000
Five companies of Rangers	—	250
One company of Indians	—	50
And a detachment of Royal artillery.		

1760

On the 11th of August, they embarked in

80 whale boats,
 330 small boats,
 3 row gallies with one cannon each,
 1 radeau with six 24 pounders, and
 1 brigantine.

On the 16th, they encamped on the left bank of the river Richlieu, a little above the Island-Aux-Noix, where the Colonel erected three batteries of cannon, and one of mortars, which began to play on the French fort there the 24th of August. In the night of the 27th, M. de Bougainville retired from this island, leaving behind him a garrison of thirty men, who were made prisoners.

Colonel Haviland, having thus made himself master of the Island-Aux-Noix, as well as the fort of St. John, advanced to St. Therese, where he encamped; and then dispatched an officer to General Amherst, and another to General Murray, to acquaint them of his arrival, and the operations which had preceded it.

M. de

1760.

M. de Bourlemaque having abandoned Bouquerville and Longuille, and retired to the Island of Montreal, General Murray detached Colonel Burton, with the grenadiers and light infantry, to join Colonel Haviland; or to act otherwise, as circumstances should require: and, having received a letter by an officer from Colonel Haviland, he sent the same officer, with Lieutenant Montresor, to General Amherst, to inform him of his situation. This officer found General Amherst on the *Isle-Aux-Perrots*.

The three armies being now within a small march of Montreal, and able to form a junction without any difficulty, they were put in motion on the 7th of September. That of General Amherst approached to within two miles of Montreal; that of Colonel Haviland quitted the post on the Island of St. Therese; and, as well as that of General Murray, directed its march to the same object.

As soon as General Amherst came within sight of this place, the French, as we have seen, demanded and obtained a cessation of arms; but General Murray happening to be ignorant of what passed, on account of his being on the other side of Montreal, proceeded to within one mile of the town. Upon this M. de Levi sent an officer to inform General Murray of the cessation of arms; but he could not be brought to believe it, till he had the news confirmed by one of his own officers, whom he sent for that purpose, to General Amherst. He then conformed himself to the will of his superior in command.

We cannot dismiss the subject without observing, that the arrival of three armies, which had so many obstacles to encounter from the enemy, and the principal of which had so
great

great a round to make to the place where they joined, almost at the same instant of time, is truly astonishing. Yet bold and daring, and almost desperate as the attempt may appear, it must at the same time be allowed, that it was the only plan of operations by which the Canadian war could be effectually terminated without another campaign.

General Amherst, immediately after the signing of the capitulation at Montreal, made the necessary preparations to take possession of all the places which the French still held in Canada, as equally included in that act. Accordingly, on the 13th of September, Major Rogers embarked with a party of two hundred rangers, another of the artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Davis, and Lieutenant Brehem, assistant engineer, to take possession of Detroit, and the posts established on the upper lakes. He was, besides, charged with the delivery of General Amherst's dispatches to Brigadier General Monckton, who commanded at Fort-Pitt. These dispatches Major Rogers soon delivered, and after a stay of only a few hours, to refresh himself and his men, returned to Presque-Isle. He then proceeded to the Straights that join the Lakes Erie and St. Claire; and from thence dispatched Lieutenant Brehem to M. Beletre, who commanded at Detroit, to acquaint him with the capitulation; and that he had a letter for him from M. de Vaudreuil, with instructions for his conduct on the occasion. Major Rogers, soon after, took possession of the fort in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and hoisted upon it the British colours. M. Beletre and the garrison were ordered to Philadelphia, there to embark for Old France.

The season was now so far advanced, that the snow and ice rendered it impracticable to proceed to Michilimackinack;

1760.

the Major, therefore, left the troops at Detroit, and returned himself to Philadelphia.

The capitulation of Montreal gave to Great Britain the full possession of Canada.

England and France never contended for a greater prize, except when to attain the crown of either kingdom was the object of their armaments.

France very justly valued her colonies, and that at a high rate, as they were a source from which she might derive a prodigious quantity of subsistence and a powerful marine; the natural consequence of extensive commerce, and an unlimited fishery, in the management of which, the French, perhaps, have not their equal. The certain prospect of gain would naturally induce people of almost every denomination to embark in this trade; and from this trade, as from its proper nursery, would arise a number of hardy sailors, the sure means of increasing their navy to an equality with that of Great Britain. If this should ever happen, it requires not the spirit of prophecy to foretel what must be the consequence.

To form an estimate of the just value of this conquest, we must not alone consider what Great Britain has gained by it. What the French might have acquired from equal success, ought to have the greatest weight in the calculation. Had victory inclined to their side, the Continent, of which the English now enjoy the dominion, would, at this time, be obedient to their laws; and this would strengthen them to such a degree, as to enable them to seize on the British islands in the West Indies. Were they possessed of these, little less than the total ruin of Great Britain

Britain must be the consequence. The Continent of North-America, and the islands in the West-Indies, derive from each other a mutual support, and a sound policy would cause the riches of both ultimately to center in Great Britain.

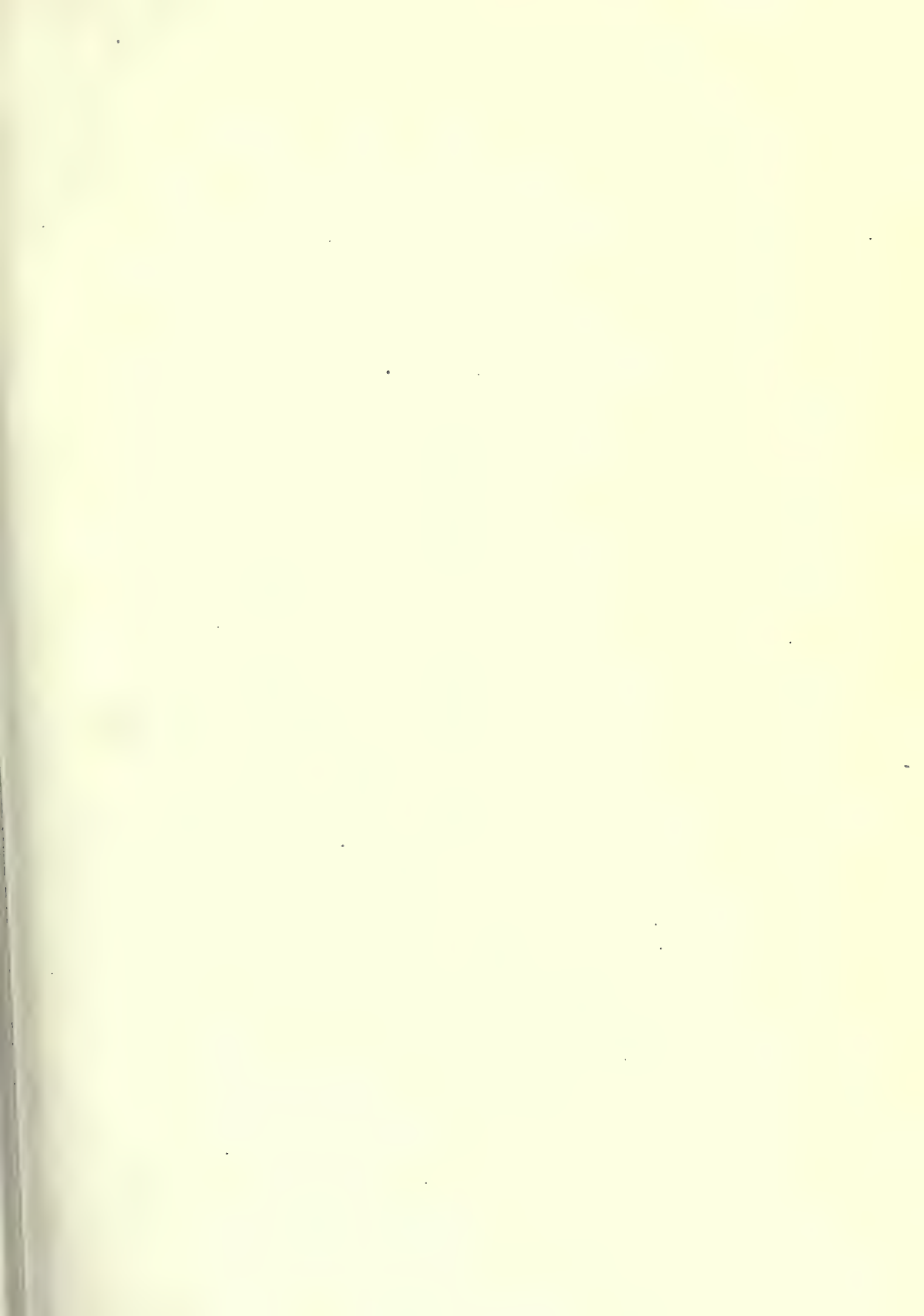
1760.

If, in a war which has terminated so honourably to this nation, soldiers merit reward for patiently enduring every species of distress, and encountering every danger with the most ready obedience, Britain never had an army whose claim to her favour and protection was so just as that which served in America; and though she had been mortified with repeated accounts of disgraceful checks, her general officers, and not her soldiers, were the cause of them.

It must be confessed, that it was a difficult task to surmount the numerous obstacles which obstructed the business of every campaign; but when Britain had a minister who could distinguish abilities, these difficulties in some degree vanished. Firmness in the commander in chief surmounted every opposition, and the views of General Amherst being confined to the acquiring of honour to his master's arms, and the putting a speedy period to the expence and horrors of war, they were happily crowned with that success, which such patriotic and disinterested views, joined to the most irreproachable conduct, gave every British subject the best grounded reasons to expect.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
L A T E W A R I N A M E R I C A.
B O O K IX.

Savages of North America troublesome, and again brought to reason.—General Amberst invested with the order of the Bath.—Preparations to attack Martinico.—Admiral Rodney to command the fleet.—Sails for Barbadoes.—Armament completed by the arrival of the Generals Monckton and Rufane, and Lord Rollo at Barbadoes.—Sails from thence for Martinico.—Landing effected in Port-Royal Bay.—Mount Tortonson carried;—and likewise Mount Garnier.—The citadel of Fort-Royal capitulates.—Most of the inhabitants of the island submit on terms.—Pigeon-Island surrenders.—La Trinité reduced.—The Governor-general capitulates for the whole island.—Reflections on the conquest of Martinico.—War declared between Spain and England.—Spanish register ship brought into Martinico.—The Grenades reduced.—St. Lucia surrenders by capitulation.—Arrival of the French fleet off Martinico.—Admiral Rodney assembles his ships to attack it, or cover Jamaica;—Is obliged to desist from his designs to favour a secret expedition;—Reinforces the Jamaica fleet notwithstanding.—Measures taken to forward the secret expedition.—The French squadron, commanded by M. de Blenac, blocked up in Port-St.-François, in the Island of Hispaniola.—M. de Blenac disembarks the troops, and determines to remain in the harbour.



1761.

low the brave and indefatigable actors to others situated under the scorching rays of a vertical sun, where they are to encounter, not only the French, but a climate extremely inauspicious, or rather fatal, to European constitutions. However inured to every danger and distress that could await a soldier in a temperate zone ; the prospect of those peculiar to the torrid, could not but appear sufficiently terrible: yet the hope of victory swallowed up every other consideration, and steeled them equally against the fury of the enemy and the horror of the weather.

It must be owned, indeed, that the complete reduction of the power of France on the Continent of North America, had given them some short respite. But the savages in the interest of the French still continued their cruelties, where they could exercise them with impunity. The Cherokees, in particular, and other nations in alliance with them, yet held up the axe of war. To chastise this their unprovoked and barbarous violation of the most solemn treaties, Lieutenant Colonel Grant was ordered against the Cherokees ; but they soon agreed to a peace. This was the only warlike expedition which distinguished the year 1761 in North America. But General Amherst, with the greatest ardour, carried on his preparations to embark the partners of his former conquests, to reap fresh laurels in the West Indies. In the mean time, Great Britain took every opportunity to testify her grateful approbation of their past services. The courage, patience, and perseverance of the soldiers, directed by General Amherst, had subdued all the enemies of Great Britain on the Continent ; and her then ever gracious Monarch, still living in the hearts of his subjects, thought proper to reward his merit

1761.

with the banners of chivalry, by creating him a Knight of the Bath.

The disgrace brought on the English arms, by the faint and ill-conducted attempt against Martinico in the year 1759, induced the minister to send another armament against that island. Accordingly, about the month of August 1761, the greatest preparations were begun to be made for the execution of it.

The troops, destined for this expedition, were to be assembled at Barbadoes, from the lately conquered island of Belle-Isle, and from North America, as we have already intimated. Sir Jeffrey Amherst gave the command of them to Major General Monckton.

The fleet was to be formed of some ships from the same places, and such as were already in the West-Indian seas, to be commanded by Admiral Rodney.

On the 10th of October 1761, the Admiral sailed from Spithead in the Marlborough of sixty-eight guns, accompanied by the Vanguard of seventy, the Modeste of sixty-four, the Nottingham of sixty, and the Grenada, Thunder, and Basilisk bombs. On the 11th, he was joined off Plymouth by the Foudroyant of eighty guns, and stood immediately for sea. The Dragon of seventy-four followed him. In a few days after these ships had cleared the channel, they were separated by a violent gale of wind: the Admiral, however, proceeded on his voyage, and was the first to reach Carlisle Bay, off Barbadoes, where he arrived the 22d of November; the Foudroyant,

ant, *Modeste*, and *Basilisk* came in five days after; and, on the first of December, the *Nottingham* and *Thunder*; the *Vanguard*, with the rest of the fleet, joined them on the 9th.

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Commodore Sir James Douglas was there already, with four ships of the line, waiting for General Monckton with the troops from North-America. The Admiral, therefore, immediately on his arrival, dispatched Sir James off Martinico, with orders to block up the harbours of that island, and prevent the throwing of any succours into its ports; and, as soon as any ships joined him from England, North-America, or elsewhere, he sent them to Sir James Douglas on the same errand.

The Admiral likewise hired ten small sloops, and having officered and manned them from the fleet, stationed them in such a manner, as to prevent any vessel from St. Eustatia stealing with provisions into the smaller ports. These sloops being constructed for the purpose of running into very shoal water, kept perpetually visiting every little harbour; and thereby effectually completed the blockade. Expresses were likewise dispatched to the different governors of the English Leeward Islands, acquainting them with the arrival of the armament; and requesting from them every assistance in their power to promote the success of it.

In pursuance of this intelligence and requisition, the government of Barbadoes laid an embargo on all the shipping, to prevent the enemy's receiving intelligence of its real destination, and raised five hundred white and six hundred black men, to reinforce it. The other islands appeared lukewarm; and very little addition was received from them.

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Necessary as it was to keep the enemy in the dark with regard to the intentions and motions of this armament, it was equally necessary to be well informed of theirs: Yet this important business seems, through some fatality or other, to have been strangely neglected; for no accounts had been procured of the enemy's situation, full and authentic enough to enable the Admiral to begin his operations as soon as he might otherwise have done. To remedy this neglect, he offered the greatest encouragement to such seamen as were sufficiently qualified to serve as pilots; and also to those who knew any thing of the interior parts of the Island of Martinico. Vessels were likewise employed to sound the coasts, and an engineer to make a survey of them; and, by these means, a foundation was at length laid, on which the Admiral and General might form something of a plan for their subsequent conduct.

But still, the uncertainty of the anchorage on the coast of Martinico, and the constant rapidity of the current in consequence of the winds in those latitudes blowing perpetually from the same quarter, rendered it impossible to prevent so large an armament's falling to leeward; and the pilots having represented this insurmountable difficulty, together with the impracticability of working up to windward, the Admiral determined to begin his operations by taking possession of the weathermost port of the Island of Martinico, from whence he could easily fall on any other place wherever the General and himself might think proper to attack. In the mean time, it having been reported, that the troops from North-America were to rendezvous at Guadaloupe, the Admiral sent frigates to windward to cruize for them, with positive orders to the commanding officer of the convoy to join him in Carlisle Bay, in order to prevent their falling to leeward.

On

On the 14th of December, the *Temeraire* of seventy-four guns, and the *Acéon* of twenty-eight, came to an anchor in Carlisle Bay, with a number of transports, having on board General Rufane, with two thousand two hundred effective men from Belle-Isle. The fleet from North-America, with General Monckton and seven thousand foldiers, arrived on the 24th.

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It having been determined to take possession of the neutral Island of Dominica, a detachment was ordered for that purpose, commanded by Lord Rollo, escorted by a squadron of four ships of the line, commanded by Sir James Douglas. In the beginning of June, this armament sailed from Gaudaloupe to Dominica, the inhabitants of which surrendered, on the promise of protection till the pleasure of the King of England should be known. Part of the above detachment likewise now arrived from Dominica, under the command of Lord Rollo, which completed the armament.

A few days, however, were still necessary to water the ships last arrived, and refresh the men they brought, and make such farther dispositions for the execution of the intended enterprize, as could not be finished till all the forces to be employed in it were assembled.

At length, on the 7th of January 1762, the whole fleet, consisting of sixteen sail of the line, thirteen frigates, three bombs with their tenders, a number of transports, and some hospital ships, sailed from Barbadoes in the following order :

1762.

A Frigate.

HISTORY OF THE

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A Frigate.		
Dragon, 74.		
Penzance, 44.	Marlborough, 68.	Woolwich, 44.
Repulse, 34.		Acteon, 82.
Grenado,	Thunder,	Basilisk,
and	and	and
Tender.	Tender.	Tender.
Temple, 70.	Blue division of transports.	Foudroyant, 80.
Vanguard, 70.	Modeste, 64.	Dublin, 74.
Amazon, 20.	Devonshire, 66.	Stag, 34.
White division of transports.	Stirling-Castle, 64.	Red division of transports.
Culloden, 74.		Alcide, 64.
Nottingham, 60.		Raisonable, 64.
Store ships. Vicuallers. Hospital ships. Baggage ships.		
Norwich, 50.		Sutherland, 50.
	Temeraire, 74.	
Greyhound, 24.		Rose, 24.
Lizard, 28.	Echo, 28.	Levant, 28.
	Crescent, 36.	

The land forces on board these ships were, the

4th Regiment, Major General Durore,
 15th, Major General Sir Jeffrey Amherst.
 17th, Major General Monckton.
 22d, Major General Whitmore.
 27th, Lieutenant General Lord Blakeney.
 28th, Major General Townsend.

35th, Lieu-

- 35th, Lieutenant General Otway.
- 38th, Major General Watson.
- 40th, Major General Armiger.
- 42d, General Lord John Murray, two battalions.
- 43d, Major General Talbot.
- 48th, Major General Webb.
- 60th, Third battalion, Colonel Haviland.
- 65th, Colonel Lord Malpafs.
- 69th, Major General Colville.
- 76th, Colonel Rufane, two battalions.
- 77th, The honourable Colonel Montgomery.
- 90th, Lieutenant Colonel Morgan.
- 91st, Lieutenant Colonel Vaughan.
- 98th, Lieutenant Colonel Grey.
- 100d, Major Commandant Campbell.

And the Barbadoes volunteers, with a detachment of artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ord ; and a brigade of engineers commanded by Colonel Mackellar.

As the fleet drew near to Martinico, the Admiral detached five sail of the line, with his flag flying, to lie before Fort-Royal, and as many frigates off La Trinité, on the opposite side of the island, with an intention to divide the enemy's force. On the 8th of January, the rest of the fleet and the army arrived off Martinico ; and Sir James Douglas, with the ships under his command, was ordered to destroy the batteries in St. Ann's Bay ; the finest and weathermost harbour of the island. This service he soon effected, and took possession of the place, though not without some loss. The *Raisonable*, through the ignorance of her pilot, though esteemed the best acquainted with that island of any pilot in the West-Indies, was run on a reef of rocks, and lost.

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It being now represented to the Admiral and General, that, since the last attempt on this island, the enemy had so fortified the coast from Point-Negro to Pas-Pilote, that it was impossible to land an army any where between them; there arose a doubt, in consequence of the alteration in the circumstances of the island, if it would not be better to land the troops at Port-St.-Lucre in the Bay of St. Ann, and march them over the isthmus to Grosse-Pointe, which, with Pigeon-Island, commanded the south side of the bay opposite to Fort-Royal; as, these forts once reduced, the ships of war and transports could anchor in the Bay of Fort-Royal, and the attack against the citadel be carried on from the east side of the Bay. But the difficulties with which the transporting of provisions to the proposed scene of action could not but be attended, and the want of fresh water on that part of the island, obliged the Admiral and General to abandon this design. They resolved, however, to attempt Pigeon-Island: For this purpose, Commodore Swanton, with some ships, and the Brigadiers Haviland and Grant with their brigades, and the light infantry under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Scott, were ordered to Ance-Darlet, there to land; and from thence march to the heights opposite to, and commanding Pigeon-Island.

On the 10th of January, the Dragon, commanded by the Honourable Captain Hervey, was ordered into the Grand-Ance, where, in the small space of an hour, he destroyed a very strong fort. He then landed with his marines, and took possession of the battery, which, in about two hours, he delivered up to Lieutenant-Colonel Melville, who had been detached by Brigadier Haviland with eight hundred men to possess what remained of the fort, in order to secure a retreat, should it be found necessary to make one.

On

On the 12th, Lieutenant Brown arrived with an express from Brigadier Haviland to General Monckton, informing him, that he was then posted near Pigeon-Island, within the range of the enemy's shells; but finding the road impassable for the cannon necessary for the reduction of that island, he judged it best to retire; and therefore should embark the brigades at the Ance-Darlet, and there wait with Commodore Swanton for farther orders. The light infantry, while on shore, were attacked, in one of their excursions, by three companies of grenadiers, some free-booters, negroes, and mulattoes, which had passed over from Fort-Royal; but they were so warmly received, that they retreated precipitately, leaving some dead, besides a serjeant and three of their grenadiers prisoners.

The Admiral and the General now determined to make a trial on the south-side of the island, between Point-Negro and Cas-de Pilote. They therefore proceeded, with their whole force, to Ance-Darlet, and from thence reconnoitred the coast. In the mean time, various other movements were made to alarm and fatigue the enemy; and this had the desired effect. The continual marches and counter-marches they were obliged to make to oppose a landing, wore them down so much as to render them, in some degree, greater objects of pity than terror.

A place which had the least appearance of being able to make any great opposition being at length fixed on to disembark the troops at, and from thence commence the operations against Fort-Royal, every necessary disposition was made for that purpose. In the night of the 15th of January, the grenadiers were distributed on board some ships of the line.

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The more effectually to expedite their landing, and to cover it, nine other ships of the line were ordered to silence the different batteries on the coast. In the morning of the 16th, the ships got under way for the attack, and the flat-bottomed boats were all ready to take the troops ashore. About noon, the forts were almost all silenced; and, by six in the evening, near seven thousand men landed. Next morning, a little after daylight, the whole army was disembarked, at a small creek called Cas-des-Navires, with two battalions of marines, without the loss of a single man; and this at a place which the enemy deemed utterly impracticable.

This successful disembarkation was conducted by Captain Shulldham on the right, Commodore Swanton in the center, and Captain Harvey on the left, whilst the subaltern officers and seamen received their orders with the most spirited cheerfulness. The army, on landing, was supplied with such necessities as it was most immediately in want of; and all the ships and transports anchored, as much in safety as the coast would allow.

This landing was greatly facilitated by the judicious disposition of the ships, and the deliberate direction of their fire, which soon obliged the enemy to abandon the batteries they had erected to defend the inlet chosen for this purpose. Many difficulties, however, were still to be overcome. The regular troops of the enemy were not, indeed, very formidable; but the militia and mulattoes were numerous, well armed, and well skilled in the only kind of war which could be carried on in a country like this, though covered with hills, and broken by gullies, and every height intrenched, which could thereby be made to retard the progress of an army. This was particularly

particularly the case with regard to the environs of Fort-Royal, Mount-Garnier, and Mount-Tortonson, two very considerable eminences, which commanded and covered the citadel; so that, while these hills were possessed by the enemy, no approaches could be carried on against it; and though there could, and even if taken, it could not be kept. This the French knew full well; and they, accordingly, did every thing that was necessary to improve nature by art, in a manner suitable to the importance of the stake.

The hills we have been speaking of were surrounded by deep gullies, and these gullies, however difficult in themselves to pass, they improved by such contrivances, as might make any other than British troops deem them impregnable. The General, by this time, encamped on the heights above Cas-de-Navires, was therefore obliged to commence his operations by erecting batteries, as well for his own security as to facilitate his approaches against Mount-Tortonson and Mount-Garnier; and, at the same time, made the proper dispositions to carry them by a *coup de main*. Accordingly, on the 24th of January, at break of day, the troops ordered for this service advanced to the attack. Brigadier Grant, with the grenadiers, supported by Lord Rollo's brigade, began it on the out-posts, under a brisk fire from the English batteries: Brigadier Rufane marched along the shore on the right, to secure the redoubts, which were erected on the coasts; whilst a thousand seamen in flat-bottomed boats rowed up as he advanced: the light-infantry, under the command of Colonel Scott, supported by Brigadier Walsh's brigade, marched on the left, to gain a plantation, by which they might get round the enemy. The attempt succeeded in every quarter; and the enemy's works were, successively, carried with an irresistible impetuosity; so that by nine o'clock,

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o'clock, the English troops were in full and quiet possession of the strong posts and redoubts on Mount-Tortonson, though defended by a numerous artillery. Some of the enemy fled precipitately into the town, whilst others seized on Mount-Garnier, which, being much higher than Mount-Tortonson, overlooked and commanded it. Brigadier Haviland, with his brigade, two battalions of Highlanders, and a corps of light-infantry, commanded by Major Leland, had received orders to cross the gulley to the left of Brigadier Walsh, attack a body of the enemy posted on the opposite heights, and endeavour to get on their left. By this movement, it was intended to divide the force of the enemy; but the extreme difficulty of access, from the number of dangerous passes they had to surmount, made it late before any considerable progress could be made in the execution of these orders, though the troops had begun their march by two in the morning.

The French having thus given way almost on every side, Colonel Scott's light-infantry, with Brigadier Walsh's brigade, and a detachment of grenadiers, were ordered to a plantation more to the left; upon which Brigadier Haviland was to have come down from Mount-Tortonson, if he had carried it: They drove off the enemy who were posted there, and possessed themselves of a very advantageous situation upon it, opposite Mount-Garnier: They were supported by Haviland's brigade after it had crossed the gulley: The grenadiers under the command of Brigadier Grant, and Walsh's brigade, kept possession of this last plantation, which was higher than the first, and communicated with Haviland's brigade, while the marines were posted so as to cover the road between the two plantations.

On the 25th, batteries were ordered to be erected, with the greatest diligence, against Fort-Royal; but the General finding,
that

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that it was first absolutely necessary to be master of Mount-Garnier, he gave orders for the erection of batteries, as well to check those of the enemy on that post, which greatly annoyed his troops, as to facilitate his passage over the gulley. During these preparations, on the 27th, about four in the afternoon, the enemy's whole force descended from Mount-Garnier, favoured by a fall out of the town. Both made a furious attack on the posts occupied by the light-infantry and Brigadier Haviland's brigade; but they were received with the greatest steadiness, and immediately repulsed; and the ardour of the British troops hurrying them forward, they passed the gulley between Mount-Tortonson and Mount Garnier, with the runaways.

Night was now come on; but, notwithstanding, Major Leland moved on to the left with his light-infantry, and meeting no opposition, continued his rout towards the enemy's redoubt, which he soon came up to, and took possession of; the enemy, except a few grenadiers who were made prisoners, having abandoned it. Their regulars retired into the citadel, whilst the militia took to the country, and dispersed.

Brigadiers Walsh, Grant, and Haviland now advanced to support the light-infantry; and by nine at night, the troops were in possession of Mount-Garnier, which entirely commanded the citadel. So precipitate was the enemy's flight, that they left a mortar loaded, and eight or nine guns unspiked, with a quantity of ammunition and provisions. The next morning, the cannon and mortars were turned against the citadel.

The suddenness with which these achievements were performed, redoubled the ardour of the troops; even the obstacles they

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they had still to encounter, gave fresh life to their activity. Accordingly, the work necessary to carry on their farther approaches, was undertaken and executed, with the most chearful alacrity. Fully convinced, that conquest alone could put a period to their toil, every individual soldier seemed, with unremitting zeal, to defy the most discouraging hardships, in order to add a new lustre to the British arms, and join to the never-fading laurels they had acquired in North-America and at Belle-Isle, those which must bloom on the surrender of Martinico. Thus every idea of fatigue and danger was lost in an inextinguishable thirst of glory.

The enemy seeing the English in possession of every height and advantageous situation in their neighbourhood; their own batteries turned against themselves, and new ones hourly added by the English, began to tremble at the thoughts of another attack: They therefore beat the chamade on the third of January, and surrendered the citadel of Fort-royal on the following terms, which were signed the next day, by the British Admiral and General, and Monsieur de Lignery, Governor of the fort, for his Most Christian Majesty.

ARTICLE I. The commanding officer of the citadel shall march out at the head of the garrison, composed of troops detached from the marine, the royal grenadiers, cannoniers, bombardiers, and Swiss; the different detachments of the militia and freebooters, and the other volunteers, with the honours of war, drums beating, colours flying, two pieces of cannon, and three rounds of ammunition each.

Answer. The troops of his Most Christian Majesty in garrison, shall march out with drums beating, colours flying, and two pieces

pieces of cannon, two rounds of ammunition; and shall be embarked and sent to France as soon as possible, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty. The militia, free-booters, and others belonging to the island, shall lay down their arms and be prisoners of war until the fate of it is determined.

II. The garrison shall be sent to the port of Rochfort in France, by the most short and expeditious way, at the expence, and in the ships of his Britannic Majesty.

Answer. Answered in the first.

III. The said garrison shall be lodged and maintained in the town of Fort-Royal till their departure, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty.

Answer. They shall be maintained at the expence of his Britannic Majesty, and shall be embarked as in the first article.

IV. It shall be lawful for the officers, creoles, and others, to go into the island, and stay there as long as it shall be necessary to settle their affairs.

Answer. A reasonable time will be allowed to the officers to settle their affairs, they behaving according to the rules of war.

V. The officers and others who have effects in the country, shall be allowed to keep them.

GRANTED.

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VI. The officers shall take their servants along with them.

GRANTED.

VII. The militia and other inhabitants, that now make part of the said garrison, may retire to their homes, with their servants likewise.

Answer. Answered in the first article.

VIII. The volunteers of St. Vincent, who came here to the succour of the place, shall be furnished with a boat and provisions to carry them home again, with their servants, arms, and baggage, as soon as possible.

Answer. To remain prisoners of war.

IX. The inhabitants, likewise, shall be furnished with shallops, or boats, to carry them to the different quarters of this island.

REFUSED.

X. The sick and wounded shall be removed to the hospital of this city, to be there taken care of by our own surgeons, till they are perfectly recovered; and the commissary of his Britannic Majesty shall take care to furnish them with subsistence.

Answer. They shall be taken the same care of as our own, and may be attended by their surgeons.

XI. The said hospital shall take away with them their medicines, and all their utensils and effects in general.

GRANTED.

XII.

XII. The chaplain of the troops shall be permitted to administer spiritual succours to the sick, as well as others of the troops, and publicly to bury the dead, without molestation.

GRANTED.

XIII. The said sick, after their recovery, shall follow the fortune of their respective corps, as well as those who shall actually be in the hospitals without the town.

GRANTED.

XIV. There shall be a general inventory taken by commissaries named by each party, of the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and all other effects, within the place.

GRANTED.

XV. The English prisoners detained in this citadel, shall be exchanged for ours; among others, M. de Caponné, major of this citadel and island, shall be included in the exchange, to follow the fortune of the officers of the place.

REFUSED.

XVI. The effects of the officers and men belonging to the royal grenadiers, which were left upon Mount-Garnier, shall be restored to them.

Answer. It cannot be complied with, as it will be impossible to recover them.

XVII. The armed free negroes and mulattoes that entered into the citadel, as attendants on the companies of militia, shall go out likewise, with the said companies.

Answer. They shall remain prisoners of war until the fate of the island is determined.

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XVIII. Three days shall be granted for the evacuation of the place; at the end of which time, the gate shall be given up to his Britannic Majesty, whilst the garrison shall march out.

Answer. The gate of the fort shall be given up to the troops of his Britannic Majesty this evening at five o'clock; and the French garrison shall march out at nine to-morrow morning.

XIX. Before the capitulation is settled, the commanding officer of the place shall be permitted to communicate it to the General; and, in the mean time, there shall be a suspension of arms, and all the works shall cease on both sides.

Answer. After the capitulation is signed, and the gate of the fort possessed by British troops, the commandant shall be allowed to acquaint his General with it.

In consequence of this capitulation, the gate of the citadel was delivered up to his Britannic Majesty's troops, the evening of the 4th of February; and, at nine the next morning, the garrison marched out, consisting of about eight hundred men, grenadiers, marines, militia, and free-booters. About one hundred and fifty of the garrison were killed and wounded during the siege. In the several attacks which preceded it, the enemy had not less than a thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. Among the latter were several principal officers of the militia who were taken on the 24th of January. The loss, on the part of the English, was one captain, five lieutenants, one ensign, three serjeants, and eighty-six rank and file killed; and one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, eleven captains, fifteen lieutenants, three ensigns, twenty serjeants, five drummers, and three hundred and thirty-two rank and file wounded; with eleven rank and file missing.

The

The capital of the island, St. Pierre, and some strong redoubts in its neighbourhood, still remained to be reduced, and the Governor-General, M. de la Touche, having retired to it with his forces, threatened to defend it to the last extremity. This his seeming resoluteness produced a general anxiety in the British army, not from any doubt of success, but from the most justifiable apprehensions, that, in consequence of a long siege, they might be overtaken by diseases peculiar to the climate, the malignity of which was much more to be dreaded than the enemy: But these apprehensions were greatly abated by the arrival of deputations from different parts of the island, with the following requisition of terms for the surrender of all such parts of it as were still possessed by the inhabitants.

1762.

Capitulation demanded by the inhabitants of the Island of Martinico, represented by Messieurs D'Aleppo, Knight, Seigneur Desfragny La Pierre, Captain of horse, and Feryre, Captain of infantry of militia, furnished with full powers from nine quarters of this island.

To their Excellencies Messieurs Monckton and Rodney, Generals by land and sea of his Britannic Majesty's forces.

ARTICLE I. The inhabitants shall quit their posts with two field-pieces, their arms, colours flying, drums beating, matches lighted, and shall have all the honours of war.

Answer. The inhabitants shall march out of all their garrisons and posts (none excepted) with their arms and colours flying, upon condition that they afterwards lay them down; and that all the forts, garrisons, posts, and batteries of cannon

and

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and mortars, with all arms, ammunition, and implements of war, be delivered to proper persons appointed to receive them.

II. The inhabitants of the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, who are come to the assistance of this island, shall have the liberty to retire with their arms and baggage, and shall be furnished with a vessel to carry them to their own islands, with their servants which they have brought with them; as also provisions necessary for their voyage.

Answer. They must remain prisoners of war, as those of St. Vincent in the capitulation of Fort-Royal.

III. The inhabitants shall have free exercise of their religion; the priests, friars, and nuns, shall be preserved in their cures and convents; and it shall be permitted to the superiors of the order to send for any of them from France, delivering their letter to his Britannic Majesty's Governors.

GRANTED.

IV. They shall be strictly neuter, and shall not be obliged to take up arms against his Most Christian Majesty, nor even against any other power.

Answer. They become subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and must take the oath of allegiance; but shall not be obliged to take arms against his Most Christian Majesty, until a peace shall determine the fate of the island.

V. They shall retain their civil government, their laws, customs, and ordinances; justice shall be administered by the same officers who are now in employment; and there shall be a regulation made for the interior police, between the Governor for his Britannic Majesty and the inhabitants; and,
in

in case the island, at the peace, shall be ceded to the King of Great Britain, the inhabitants shall be allowed to retain their political government, and to accept that of Antigua or St. Christopher's.

Answer. They become British subjects (as in the preceding article); but shall continue to be governed by their present laws, until his Majesty's pleasure be known.

VI. The inhabitants, as also the religious orders of both sexes, shall be maintained in the property of their effects, moveable and immoveable, of what nature soever; and shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions; their free negroes and mulattoes shall have the entire enjoyment of their liberty.

GRANTED, in regard to the religious orders; the inhabitants, being subjects of Great Britain, will enjoy their properties, and the same privileges, as in the other his Majesty's Leeward-Islands.

VII. They shall not pay to his Majesty any other duties than those which have been paid hitherto to his Most Christian Majesty; and the capitation of negroes, on the same footing it is paid at present, without any other charges or imposts; and the expences of justice, pensions to curates, and other occasional expences, shall be paid out of the domain of his Britannic Majesty, as they were out of that of his Most Christian Majesty.

ANSWERED in the sixth article in what regards the inhabitants.

VIII. and IX. The prisoners taken during the siege, shall be restored on both sides; the free mulattoes, as well as the negroes,

negroes, which shall have been taken, shall be restored as prisoners of war, and shall not be treated as slaves.

Answer. The inhabitants and mulattoes, now prisoners, will become British subjects, upon the submission of the whole island, and will enjoy the benefit of it. The negroes who have been taken in arms, are deemed slaves.

X. The subjects of Great Britain, who have taken refuge in the island for crimes, or been condemned to punishments, shall have liberty of retiring.

REFUSED.

XI. No others than the inhabitants, resident in this island, shall, till the peace, possess any estates in it, either by acquisition, agreement, or otherwise; but in case, at the peace, the country shall be ceded to the King of Great Britain, then it shall be allowed the inhabitants who are not willing to become his subjects, to sell their estates, moveable and immoveable, to whom they please, and retire where they shall think proper; in which case, they shall be allowed convenient time.

Answer. All subjects of Great Britain may possess any lands or houses by purchase. The remainder of this article granted, provided they sell to British subjects.

XII. In case any exchanges shall be thought of at the peace, their Most Christian and Britannic Majesties are intreated to give the preference to this island.

Answer. This will depend upon his Britannic Majesty's pleasure.

XIII.

XIII. The inhabitants shall have liberty of retiring; that is, of sending their children to France for their education; the wives of officers and others out of the island, shall have liberty to retire with their effects, and the number of servants suitable to their rank.

Answer. The liberty of sending their children to France to be educated, depends upon the King's pleasure. The rest granted.

XIV. The Government shall procure for the inhabitants vent for their commodities, which shall be looked upon as national commodities, and of consequence shall have entry in England.

GRANTED; the island producing nothing but what may be imported into England.

XV. The inhabitants shall not be obliged to find quarters for the troops, or to do any works on the fortifications.

Answer. The inhabitants must furnish barracks or quarters for the King's troops in the several districts of the island.

XVI. The widows, and others absent through sickness, who shall not have signed the capitulation, shall have a fixed time for doing it.

GRANTED, on condition they sign it in one month from this date.

XVII. Vessels shall be granted to the free-booters and others, who have no effects in this country, and are willing to leave it, to retire.

GRANTED, to go to France; but no where else.

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XVIII. It shall be permitted to give freedom to negroe and mulattoe slaves, as a recompense for their good services, according to custom.

GRANTED to servants.

XIX. The inhabitants and merchants shall enjoy all their privileges of commerce, as the subjects of Great Britain.

GRANTED; so that it does not affect the privileges of particular companies established in England, or the laws of the kingdom, which prohibit the carrying on trade in other than British bottoms.

XX. It shall always be permitted to the inhabitants to continue to make white and clayed sugar, as they have been used to do.

GRANTED; they paying duty in proportion to their superior value, in point of quality, above the Muscavado sugar.

XXI. The sea-vessels, as well ships as boats or schooners, which are sunk or afloat, and which have not been taken, shall remain to their owners.

REFUSED to all privateers and ships trading to distant parts: Granted to such as are employed in passing to and from the different ports of the island.

XXII. The money, which is now made use of, shall remain upon the same footing, without being susceptible of either augmentation or diminution.

(D'ALLASSO.)

(LAPIERE.)

(DORIENTERSACK for

(J. FERRIERE.)

(MAUBOIX.)

DORIENT HUBERT and

DORIENT CAMPAGNE.)

Demanded,

Demanded, all archives and papers, which may be necessary or relative to the government of the island, to be faithfully given up. Leave is granted to the gentlemen of the island to keep necessary arms for the defence of their plantations.

ROBT. MONCKTON.

G. B. RODNEY.

Settled, agreed, and closed by us, the deputies, representatives, and bearers of the powers from the major-part of the quarters composing this colony, in the city of Fort-Royal, Martinico, this 7th day of February, 1762.

D'ALLASSO.

ROBT. MONCKTON.

J. FERRIERE.

G. B. RODNEY.

LAPIERE.

Deputies, (DORIENTERSACK.) (BERLAND.) (MAUBOIX.)

Pigeon-Island surrendered the same day this capitulation was signed, and on the same terms with Fort-Royal, the allowance of cannon to the garrison only excepted.

It was now thought necessary to reduce the north-side of the island, were it only to cut off all relief from St. Pierre's, and the great redoubts in its neighbourhood, where, as we have already observed, Monsieur de la Touche had collected his whole strength, and threatened a long and vigorous defence. With this view, therefore, the General gave orders for attacking La Trinité, the principal port and town in that quarter; and, accordingly, on the 7th of February, the Honourable Captain Hervey, with the Dragon, and several other ships, himself in the Dragon with a distinguishing pendant, sailed for La Trinité, where they arrived on the 9th; landed Captain Hervey's

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marines, with five hundred seamen; took possession of the fort and the town; and obliged the inhabitants of the seven districts of that coast to consult their own interest by signing the capitulation, which had been granted those of the south-side of the island. Ten days after, Captain Hervey delivered over these districts in perfect tranquillity, to Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, who had been sent by the General to take upon him the government of them.

In the mean time, the preparations more immediately requisite for the reduction of St. Pierre, were carried on with such vigour, that every thing was ready for that purpose by the time Captain Hervey sailed against La Trinité. But while the General was marching towards it, Monsieur de la Touche determined, probably by the success of Captain Hervey, sent his brother and a general officer, on board the Marlborough, with the following heads of a capitulation, which being agreed to, St. Pierre and the whole island of Martinico, were formally surrendered up to his Britannic Majesty's forces, on the 13th of February.

Capitulation proposed for the whole Island of Martinico, on the part of M. le Vassor de la Touche, the Governor-General.

PRELIMINARY ARTICLE. A suspension of arms shall be agreed on for fifteen days; at the expiration of which, the following capitulation shall take place, if no succour arrives.

Answer. Twenty-four hours will be allowed the General to accede to the terms offered, from the time Messrs. de Bournan and de la Touche shall be set on shore at St. Pierre; and if accepted, the troops of his Britannic Majesty shall be immediately

ately put in possession of such forts and posts, as his Britannic Majesty's General shall think fit.

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ARTICLE I. All the forts and posts of the island shall be evacuated by the troops of his Most Christian Majesty, whether regular or militia, or independent companies of free-booters, or livery-servants; they shall march out with four field-pieces, their arms, two rounds *per* man, their ensigns or colours flying, drums beating, and all the honours of war; after which the said forts shall be occupied by the troops of his Britannic Majesty.

Answer. The troops and inhabitants shall march out of all their garrisons and posts with their arms, drums beating, colours flying; and the troops to have four pieces of cannon, with two rounds each, and two rounds *per* man; upon condition that the inhabitants afterwards lay down their arms; and that all the forts, garrisons, posts, and batteries of cannon or mortars, with all arms, ammunition, and implements of war, shall be delivered up to proper persons appointed by us to receive them.

II. Transport-vessels shall be provided, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty, sufficiently victualled, to carry to the Grenades the above-mentioned regular troops, and their officers and commanders, with the four pieces of cannon, arms, baggage; and, in general, all the effects of the said officers and troops.

GRANTED; to France only.

III. M. Rouillé, Governor of Martinico, the King's Lieutenants of the said island, the officers of the staff, engineers and sub-engineers,

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engineers, shall return to France in the vessels, and at the charge of his Britannic Majesty.

GRANTED.

IV. There shall, in like manner, be provided, at the charge of his Britannic Majesty, a vessel and the necessary victualling, to carry to the Grenades M. le Vassor de la Touche, Commandant-General for his Most Christian Majesty of the French Leeward Islands in America, his lady, and all persons with him engaged in the king's service, or belonging to his household, and all their effects.

GRANTED, to France, the Grenades being blocked up.

V. M. de Rochemore, inspector of the fortifications and artillery in this island, shall, in like manner, be conveyed to the Grenades in the same ships with the persons in his retinue engaged in the service of the King, their domestics, and their effects.

GRANTED, to France.

VI. There shall be made by two commissaries, who shall be named for that purpose, one of each nation, an exact inventory of all the effects, which shall be found to belong to his Most Christian Majesty in the arsenals, in the magazines, upon the batteries; and, in general, of all the arms, utensils, and ammunitions of war, to be delivered up to the commanding officer of his Britannic Majesty.

GRANTED.

VII. Merchandizes, not being arms nor ammunitions of war, which may be found lodged in the said magazines, or upon the

the said batteries, shall not be made a part of the said inventory, unless it be in order to their being restored to the true owners.

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Answer. All military stores, and others employed as such, become his Britannic Majesty's.

VIII. All the prisoners made during the siege, or at sea, before the siege, of whatever nation and quality, shall be restored on either side; and those made in the citadel, if they be troops, shall follow the fortune of the other troops; and if inhabitants, they shall follow the fortune of the other inhabitants.

Answer. The troops, according to the cartel; the inhabitants will be released upon the signing of this capitulation.

IX. The free-negroes and mulattoes made prisoners of war, shall be treated as such, and restored, like the other prisoners, in order to their continuing to enjoy their liberties.

Answer. All negroes taken in arms are deemed slaves. The rest granted.

X. The Sieurs Nadau Dutreil, de la Potterie, and Cornette, prisoners of state, shall be likewise conducted, at the expence, and in the ships of his Britannic Majesty, to the Island of the Grenades, to be delivered into the hands of M. le Vassor de la Touche.

Answer. Messieurs de la Potterie and Cornette, shall be delivered up when taken; but M. Nadau having had our promise, (immediately upon his being made prisoner) to procure him a reasonable time to settle his affairs, he has three months, from the date hereof, for that purpose.

XI. The Island of Martinico shall remain in the hands of his Britannic Majesty, till such time as its condition shall have been

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been determined, by treaty made between the two powers, without the inhabitants being compelled, in any case, to take up arms, either against the king of France, or against his allies, or even against any other power.

Answer. They become subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and must take the oaths of allegiance; but shall not be obliged to take up arms against his Most Christian Majesty, until a peace shall determine the fate of the island.

XII. All the inhabitants of Martinico, either present or absent, even those that are engaged in his Most Christian Majesty's service, as well as all religious houses and communities, shall be maintained and preserved in the possession and property of their real and personal estates, of their negroes, shipping, and generally of all their effects, whether the said real and personal estates and effects be actually in Martinico or in any other island; and the slaves, which have been taken from them during the siege, shall be restored to them.

Answer. The inhabitants, as well as the religious orders, will enjoy their properties; and, as they become British subjects, they will enjoy the same privileges as in his Majesty's other Leeward Islands. In regard to the slaves, answered in the ninth article.

XIII. The boats, or other vessels belonging to Martinico, which are actually out at sea, or in neutral ports, whether they are equipped for war or not, shall be permitted to return into the ports and roads of this island, upon the declaration to be made by the owners thereof, of their intending to send them immediate orders to return, and upon their giving personal security, that the said vessels shall make no attempt upon
any

any English ship: In consideration of which declaration, passports shall be granted them, that they may return in all security.

REFUSED; as foreign to the capitulation: but any applications which may afterwards be made on this head, shall be considered according to the rules of justice and of war.

XIV. The inhabitants of Martinico shall freely and publicly exercise their religion; the priests, friars, and nuns, shall be maintained in the public exercise of their functions, and in the enjoyment of their privileges, prerogatives, and exemptions.

GRANTED.

XV. The superior as well as inferior judges, shall likewise be maintained in their functions, privileges, and prerogatives; they shall continue to administer justice to the inhabitants of this island, according to the laws, ordinances, customs, and usages, which have been followed hitherto. No foreigner shall be allowed to sit in the council as a judge: But, if any place in the magistracy becomes vacant, the superior council of Martinico shall dispose of it, provisionally only, and the person chosen by them, shall perform the duties of it, till the one or the other of the two courts shall otherwise settle it, after that the condition of Martinico shall have been fixed by a treaty between them.

Answer. They become British subjects; but shall continue to be governed by their present laws, until his Majesty's pleasure be known.

XVI. M. le Baron d'Huart, commanding the troops and militia of this island, as well as M. de Bouran, Major-General, shall

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be conveyed to the Grenades in the same vessel in which the royal grenadiers are to be embarked, together with their domestics and effects, as well as those of all the officers of the same corps: The said officers shall have leave to collect together their effects, which are dispersed in divers parts of the island, and the necessary time for the recovery of them shall be allowed them. Orders shall be given to the inhabitants, that are indebted to the officers of this corps, to pay them before their departure. The officers shall likewise be bound to discharge the debts they have contracted in this island.

Answer. They shall be sent to France. The rest granted.

XVII. All the land and sea-officers who are in the island, either on actual duty, or with leave, shall have a year's time to settle all the affairs they may have there.

Answer. A proper time will be allowed to such as have estates upon the island, with the usual restrictions; and such as shall have M. de la Touche the Governor-General's leave.

XVIII. The nobility shall continue to enjoy all the privileges and exemptions which have been always granted them.

GRANTED; so that it is not inconsistent with the British laws.

XIX. The slaves that have been made free during the siege, or to whom their freedom has been promised, shall be reputed and declared free, and they shall peaceably enjoy their state of freedom.

GRANTED.

XX. The duties of the poll-tax, those of importation and exportation; and, in general, all the duties established in this island, shall

shall be continued to be paid for the future, on the same footing as heretofore.

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Answer. Answered in the 15th article.

XXI. As it imports the glory and interest of every prince whatsoever, to make it publicly known, that he honours with a special protection the action of every subject which bears the character of zeal, love, and loyalty for his king; it has been agreed, that the things furnished to the colony on occasion of the siege, either before or during the same; such as provisions, utensils, ammunition, arms, or money; shall continue to be considered as debts of the colony, just as they were and ought to be, in its former state; consequently, that the amounts of these supplies shall not cease to be reputed as debts of the colony itself, and which it must satisfy, into whatsoever hands it may pass, through the fortune of arms: that, considering the nature and quality of these debts, it will add to the dignity of his Britannic Majesty, to grant the creditors all manner of protection; consequently, they shall be paid out of the first funds that shall arise, as well from the poll-tax as from the duties of importation and exportation on merchandizes that are liable to them. To which purpose, the state of these debts shall be settled and verified by M. de la Riviere, intendant of the American Leeward Islands.

Answer. Will be settled by the generals of both sides, being foreign to the capitulation.

XXII. In virtue of the same principle, and considering the necessity of speedily bringing provisions into this colony, it has likewise been agreed, that such merchants of the town of St. Pierre, as, by orders from the intendant, M. de la

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Riviere,

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Riviere, have entered into measures and engagements, to bring over hither provisions from the neutral islands, shall be permitted to fulfil their engagements, as well to save them from the loss they would otherwise suffer, as to procure to this island a more speedy supply; consequently, two months shall be granted them, from the day of signing these presents, to complete their undertakings: But, to avoid all abuses in this respect, M. de la Riviere shall give a note of the nature and quantity of the provisions which he has ordered to be procured from the neutral islands; and, as he has promised and granted an exemption from all duties on this importation, the said exemption shall take place in the same manner as it was promised, and as it is actually practised; being a profit in which the colony and the merchant have both their share.

Answer. All supplies whatever, that were engaged to be thrown into this island by any neutral power, for the support of his Most Christian Majesty's troops and colony, will be deemed legal prizes, if taken by his Britannic Majesty's ships; and all engagements with neutral powers for such a supply, made before the reduction of this island, being void, no commerce for the future can be carried on but in British bottoms.

XXIII. M. le Vassor de la Touche shall be allowed five of the inhabitants, whom he shall cause to be put on board such of the vessels as are to transport his Most Christian Majesty's troops. His reasons for this demand are, that it imports all sovereign powers not to grant any protection to any one who breaks through the allegiance and fidelity a subject owes to his king.

Answer. Cannot be allowed, as we have already granted them his Britannic Majesty's protection.

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XXIV. M. de la Riviere, intendant, and M. Guignard, commissary-comptroller of the marine in this island, shall be allowed time sufficient to settle all the departments of their respective administrations, and do whatever is absolutely necessary in that respect. A ship with provisions shall afterwards be furnished, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty, in order to convey to the Grenades, the said intendant, his wife, children, secretaries, and servants, with all their effects. The said commissary-comptroller of the marine shall go on board the same ship, and be conveyed to the same island.

GRANTED; afterwards to be sent to France.

XXV. The persons employed in the administration of the domaine, of the marine, the classes and the finances, who shall be willing to return to France, shall be transported thither with their effects, in the vessels, and at the charge of his Britannic Majesty.

GRANTED.

XXVI. The public records shall be again forthwith deposited in their proper places; and the Governor for his Britannic Majesty shall grant all necessary protection for this purpose.

Answer. They must be delivered to such persons as the General shall appoint to receive them.

XXVII. With regard to any papers of accounts, they shall again be put into the hands of the proper accomptants, that they may be enabled to proceed to the rendering of their accounts,
and

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and to vouch them by such pieces as are necessary for their discharge.

GRANTED.

XXVIII. The inhabitants, merchants, and other private persons, resident or not, shall have leave to go to St. Domingo or Louisiana, with their negroes and effects, in cartel ships, at their own expence.

GRANTED.

XXIX. If any of the grenadier soldiers should endeavour to remain in the island, or to fly their colours, a protection and guard shall be granted to prevent their deserting, and what remains of the said grenadiers shall be embarked complete.

GRANTED; except in particular cases.

XXX. The merchant-ships belonging to the French traders in Europe, which are at this time in the harbours and roads of this island, shall be preserved to their true proprietors, with the liberty of selling them, or of clearing them for France in ballast.

REFUSED to all privateers and ships trading to distant ports. Granted to such as trade to and from the different ports of this island.

At Martinico, February 13th, 1762.

LE VASSOR DE LA TOUCHE.

Done at Fort-Royal in the Island of Martinico, this 13th day of February, 1762.

ROBT. MONCKTON.

G. B. RODNEY.

The

The loss sustained by the English in the conquest of Martinico, must appear very trifling, when we reflect on the numberless difficulties which every where presented themselves, and the value of the prize contended for. Nature had, in every part, been lavish of her defences to oppose an invasion; and Art, far from neglecting to improve her bounties, had added every strength that judgment and experience could suggest. Besides, the vast consequence of the island itself to France, together with the riches of the inhabitants, could not fail calling forth their utmost exertions to repel their invaders; and they had continually before them every motive that could animate and inspire them with fortitude to bear every fatigue, and courage to brave every danger: The houses in which they were born, the land which nurtured them, the graves of their ancestors, the cradles of their children, their wives, their daughters, their whole estates, exposed to the insults of a conquering foe, were sufficient to excite the utmost efforts of human skill; yet, however strong such a variety of sensations must have operated to the purpose of inspiring the French, it proved unequal to the true valour and persevering ardour of the English troops, who, in surmounting every obstacle, gave a noble example of British spirit. But the grenadiers commanded by the Lieutenant-Colonels Fletcher, Masséy, and Vaughan; and the light infantry headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, Major Leland, and Captain Quintin Kennedy, distinguished themselves in a particular manner; the warmest part of the service having fallen to their lot.

Nor was the innate bravery of the British sailors ever more conspicuous than during this expedition; and the services they performed, as well on shore as on their own element, are almost

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almost incredible ; and, to the everlasting honour of both the sea and land forces, the utmost harmony subsisted between them, and Admiral Rodney gave the General every assistance in his power, with all the cordiality that might be expected, had his own glory alone depended on the event.

Though it was merely by the right of arms that the island of Martinico and its inhabitants, with all their riches, thus fell into the power of the English ; the humanity and generosity of the conquerors made so deep an impression on the hearts of the conquered, that, instead of regarding them as outrageous foes, they hailed them their deliverers from tyranny and oppression ; and, from the hitherto unknown degree of liberty they were now permitted to enjoy, conceived such an high idea of the British government, as made them break out into open prayers of long continuing to enjoy the blessings of it.

During the progress of the army, the Admiral kept his ships differently employed ; but most of them were obliged to remain with the army, not only to cover the siege of Fort-Royal, and be able to do the same at St. Pierre's ; but because their marines were all on shore, doing duty with the troops ; and even many of their seamen were daily employed in the necessary task of hauling up the cannon to the troops, and carrying them provisions and ammunition. Proper officers were appointed to forward these services with that dispatch which the importance of them required.

The conquest of Martinico being thus accomplished, General Monckton would have proceeded in person to have reduced the other islands mentioned in his Majesty's instructions ; but
that

that he thought it of more consequence to the service, considering the then critical situation of affairs, to remain where he was. Besides, his presence was absolutely requisite to settle many material points conducive to the security of his new conquest: Accordingly, every measure was pursued that prudence could dictate, and that could tend to the preservation of harmony between his own troops, and secure order and obedience from the inhabitants. The execution of the remainder of the King's instructions being a second consideration; it was, therefore, prudently resolved to send a small squadron under Commodore Swanton, with the fifth brigade under Brigadier Walsh, and the corps of light-infantry, commanded by Colonel Scott, to reduce the Grenades. These troops soon arriving at their place of destination, landed on the 5th of March, without the least opposition. The Governor having, with some regulars and free-booters, possessed himself of a very strong and advantageous post commanding the fort, shewed, for some time, a resolution to defend the place; and his dispositions indicated an obstinate intention of repelling the invaders, if possible; but he no sooner saw the British troops landed, and favourably posted, than he abandoned his strong situation; and then, finding himself deserted by the inhabitants, and that the communication with the country was cut off in such a manner as to preclude all hopes of relief, he submitted without firing a gun; so that this valuable conquest, left to the crown of Great Britain by the definitive treaty, did not cost her a single man.

All this while, the greatest part of the fleet kept cruizing on different stations, to watch if any of the enemy should appear; and commodore Sir James Douglas, in particular, off the Salines: Notwithstanding which, the Admiral determined to at-

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tack the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, the right to which had so long been an object of contention between the French and the English. Accordingly, on the 24th of February, he ordered

The Hon. Capt. Hervey, in the Dragon, with the
Norwich,
Penzance,
Dover, and
Basilisk,

to proceed on this service; with liberty, on his making the island of St. Lucia, reconnoitring the coasts of it, and making all the other observations in his power, to attack it without waiting for farther instructions, if he thought himself strong enough to carry his point; otherwise he was only to send the Admiral the best account he could, of the enemy's force and situation, and block up their ports, in the best manner he could, to prevent their receiving any supplies, and acquaint the Admiral, from time to time, of his proceedings: in case he attacked the island, he was left entirely to the direction of his own judgment, in his operations against it. If Captain Hervey should subdue the island, after taking possession of the forts, and acquainting the Admiral therewith; he was to proceed to the Island of St. Vincent, and inform the chief of the Indians there, that he was not come to molest them, and much less strip them of their possessions; but to free them from the yoke which the French had imposed on them, and oblige the usurpers to evacuate that island; his Majesty being desirous to grant the natives his royal protection, and maintain them in that state of neutrality to which they had an undoubted right: And, that Captain Hervey might the more effectually comply with these instructions, he was ordered to wear a broad pendent when not in sight of a senior officer.

The

The first of these services was performed by the 27th, when the Island of St. Lucia surrendered by the following capitulation.

Articles of capitulation agreed on between the Honourable Augustus Hervey, Commander of a Squadron of his Majesty's ships, employed off the Islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent; and Monsieur de Longueville, Commander and Governor of his Most Christian Majesty's forces on the Island of St. Lucia.

ARTICLE I. The troops of the Most Christian King, which are in the Island of St. Lucia, shall be allowed the same capitulation with the Island of Martinico; they shall be supplied with a vessel and provisions to remove to the said island; they shall leave St. Lucia with the honours of war, their arms and baggage, drums beating, matches lighted, and a field-piece, and so proceed to Martinico, with ten rounds for said field-piece; and they shall be allowed two days to bring down their baggage from the redoubts.

Answer. The troops of his Most Christian Majesty shall march out of their garrisons and posts, with the honours of war, and be allowed a field-piece of cannon, with four rounds, and lighted match; they shall be allowed forty-eight hours to get their baggage from the redoubts, and then be embarked at his Britannic Majesty's expence for Martinico, and from thence to France as soon as possible.

II. The inhabitants of this island ask the same terms, which have been granted to these of Martinico, by the late capitulation made with M. le Vassor, our General.

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Answer. The inhabitants of St. Lucia shall immediately surrender up their arms, send in their names with places of their abode, and submit themselves *at discretion* to his Britannic Majesty; but they shall not be obliged to take arms against his Most Christian Majesty.

III. All forts, garrisons, posts, cannon, mortars, magazines of ammunition, provisions, and implements of war delivered up *bona fide* to such persons as shall be appointed to receive them.

GRANTED.

IV. The inhabitants shall have free exercise of their religion; their priests and nuns shall be reserved in their cures and convents, until his Britannic Majesty's pleasure is known.

GRANTED.

V. All archives and papers, which may be necessary or relative to the government of the island, to be faithfully given up; as also, all plans of the island, fortifications, harbours, bays, &c.

GRANTED.

VI. All vessels whatsoever, that have been employed on any other voyage, or on any other account than merely transporting the produce of this island from one place to another of this island, or carrying such produce from this island to Martinico only, shall be seized by his Majesty's ships at St. Lucia.

GRANTED.

Dated on board his Majesty's ship Dragon at St. Lucia,
February 26th, 1762.

A. HERVEY.
LONGUEVILLE.

This

LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

This capitulation gave Captain Hervey possession of the finest harbour in the West-Indies, strongly fortified by art as well as by nature. St. Lucia is, besides, remarkable for several fresh water rivers, and great plenty of wood. It extends north north-east, and south south-west about forty-five miles, and is about thirteen in breadth. It is indeed mountainous and but little cleared, and contained but about one thousand inhabitants, though very fruitful and capable of yielding the same commodities with all the other West-Indian islands. But, after all, its chief merit consists in the excellent harbour called the Little Carenage on the leeward side of the island. This harbour is one of the best in the West-Indies, and it is impossible to attack it by shipping when properly fortified, though it can receive vessels of the greatest draught, having seven fathom water close to the shore, and a cove where a first rate man of war may be careened.

We cannot help remarking in this place, that it is not bravery alone which constitutes a good officer. A wise attention to circumstances, with the necessary vigilance to gain by stratagem, what force, perhaps, would never effect, has superior merit. It is on this principle we must relate a singular circumstance that attended the reduction of St. Lucia. When Captain Hervey arrived off the island, he was entirely at a loss for intelligence concerning the situation of its French inhabitants, and the troops which defended it. From the peculiar position of the harbour, there was no reconnoitring it from without; and the coast was every where so well defended, that it was impracticable to land; he, therefore, determined to summon the Governor, and to accompany the officer charged with the summons in person, but dressed as a midshipman, sent, as it were, to

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serve as an interpreter. By this means he got into the harbour, and had an opportunity of seeing that the water was every where deep ; nay, he was carried up to the fortress where the Governor resided.

The summons was answered with a spirit that threatened a stout defence ; but next morning, whilst the English ships were under sail to force the harbour, and the marines and seamen ready in the boats for the assault, the commodore received an offer of capitulation from the Governor, M. de Longueville. The officer sent on this errand, knowing again the Commodore, whom he had seen the day before in a different character, could not help betraying great surprise ; but at the same time, rightly judging of the real cause of this duplicity, he presently recovered himself ; and, without taking any farther notice of it, returned to the Governor, and soon after brought back those articles signed, which the Commodore had sent in by him. The ships then went in and took possession of the harbour, and the whole island immediately submitted : From hence, on the 4th of March, the Commodore sailed to reduce the Island of St. Vincent ; but, on his way, he met an express from Admiral Rodney, with orders to join him with all expedition. The following extract of a letter from the Admiral to Captain Forrest, who commanded his Majesty's fleet at Jamaica, will sufficiently account for the above orders.

“ I must acquaint you, that the French squadron, under the
“ command of M. de Blenac, consisting of eight ships of the line,
“ and five frigates, having on board two thousand troops,
“ commanded by M. Belsunce and M. de St. Croix, appeared off
“ Martinico on the 9th instant. I immediately put to sea, with

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“ six ships of the line, and four or five frigates, in hopes of
 “ being able to bring them to an action; but was disappointed
 “ in my aim. Having gained intelligence, that the Island of
 “ Martinico belonged to his Britannic Majesty, they made off,
 “ without my being able to learn, for forty-eight hours, what
 “ course they had taken. I had great reason to believe, that
 “ they were gone to the relief of Grenada, then besieged;
 “ but, upon receiving a certain account that they were seen off
 “ St. Christopher’s, steering west with all the sail they could
 “ crowd, I collected, with the utmost dispatch, all my force,
 “ and shall hasten to join you as soon as possible, and you may
 “ every hour expect me. But, as I think the best way to defeat
 “ the enemy’s designs, will be to attack them in their own
 “ ports, I should be glad that you would join me with all the
 “ ships under your command, off Cape St. Nicholas; or, in
 “ case that should be found impracticable, that you would
 “ cause frigates to cruize to windward in quest of me, to
 “ give me an account of the present state of the island, and
 “ the intelligence you have been able to procure of the ene-
 “ my’s motions, that I may the better know how to take my
 “ measures for the preservation of Jamaica.”

In consequence of the above orders to Captain Hervey, he made
 all the sail he could to join the Admiral; and, on the 6th of
 March, came up with him off St. Pierre’s, as did Sir James
 Douglas and Commodore Swanton; so that, within a few hours,
 his whole fleet was collected. It was in vain to think of inter-
 cepting the enemy before they could arrive at St. Domingo.
 However, not a moment was lost in victualling and watering,
 and getting every ship ready for action, in order to succour the
 Island of Jamaica, as expresses had been received from the
 Governor.

1762. Governor and Council of that island, that they were in imminent danger ; that the island was to be attacked by the united forces of France and Spain ; and requesting that the Admiral and General would endeavour to prevent the said island from falling into the hands of the enemy, by sending them speedy succour.

Immediately on the receipt of this express, the Admiral communicated it to the General ; and proposed to him to hold a considerable body of troops in constant readiness to embark for the relief of Jamaica, the moment intelligence should be received, of the Brest Squadron's having quitted those seas ; the Admiral being, on his side, determined to assist them with all the naval force, that could possibly be spared from the immediate protection of the Carribee Islands.

General Monckton was much distressed at the critical situation of Jamaica ; especially as he did not think himself authorised to part with any of his troops without express orders from England. This, however, did not prevent the Admiral from prosecuting his purpose of hastening to the relief of Jamaica : he, therefore, ordered Captain Hervey to St. Christopher's, to collect all the ships on that station, and to remain there till joined by him with the rest of his fleet, in readiness to sail at a moment's warning ; and soon after, the Admiral took the same rout himself, leaving Sir James Douglas at Martinico. But before he could sail from St.-Christopher's, he received an express, on the 26th of March, by Captain Elphinstone of the Richmond, with orders to desist from any enterprize he might have in view, as it was indispensibly necessary, that all operations should yield to the grand object, a secret expedition, which had been then resolved upon.

Thus

Thus we see, that the time in which Martinico was reduced, was a circumstance of as much consequence as the reduction itself; for, the war against Spain having been declared in the beginning of the year, it became adviseable to strike early such an effectual blow against that nation, as might incline her to a speedy peace, or materially influence the fortune of the war, if she should persist in her hostile designs. It was, on this plan, necessary to employ, on one and the same service, a very great force; and, of course, call away a considerable part of that which had been employed at Martinico.

To be thus stopped in the career of glory, and superseded in command, when just on the point of seizing fresh laurels, must have been extremely mortifying; for it was now impossible to proceed to the protection of Jamaica, or attempt any thing against the fleet of the enemy in their own ports, without acting in contradiction to the instructions received from the Lords of the Admiralty. However, as the preservation of Jamaica was an object of so much consequence, the Admiral thought himself justifiable in obeying a standing positive order, respecting all admirals or commodores commanding on the station of the Leeward Islands, that, in case any French squadrons passed these seas, they should detach immediately an equal number of ships after them, or follow them in person; besides, the Admiral knew that the Jamaica fleet was to compose part of that commanded by Sir George Pococke, which was to be employed in the secret expedition, and had not received the least intimation against what place that expedition was intended; he therefore thought it absolutely necessary, not only for the preservation of Jamaica, but to prevent the junction of the French and Spanish fleets, to

E e e

detach

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detach Sir James Douglas with ten sail of the line, to Commodore Forrest, who had already seven sail of the line and ten frigates under him: And accordingly he sent Captain Howell to Martinico, with orders for Sir James to repair with all the expedition possible, in the Culloden, to St. Christopher's, there to take on him the command of a squadron for Jamaica. On the 2d of April, Sir James arrived at St. Christopher's, and the Admiral immediately ordered the Captains of the

Culloden

Temeraire

Dublin

Devonshire

Dragon

Stirling-castle

Temple

Sutherland

Nottingham

Alcide

Dover

Thunder and Grenada bombs,

with the Cæsar tender, and a sloop laden with masts, to put themselves under Sir James's command, and then ordered Sir James himself to proceed with them immediately to the Island of Jamaica, there to take upon him the command of the ships on that station, and get them ready as fast as possible, to join Sir George Pococke, who was expected in these seas by the middle of April; and moreover, make such a disposition of his ships, as should appear most conducive to the defence of that island. He was likewise to dispatch a tender or frigate, on his arrival at Jamaica, with what intelligence he could procure, to Sir George Pococke at Martinico, and give directions to the commanders of such vessels, to keep in the usual track of ships bound from Martinico to Jamaica; and then order his other frigates to cruize to windward, on the south-side of Hispaniola, that Sir George Pococke might have as early and as full intelligence as possible.

On the 3d of April the Admiral sailed with Sir James and the whole fleet, to deceive the Dutch, who might observe their separation, and give notice of it to the enemy; they kept company till night, when the signal was made for Sir James to proceed to Jamaica; the Admiral steered for St. Pierre, and anchored in the road on the 9th. Immediately on his arrival, he began the necessary preparations for getting the ships in readiness for Sir George Pococke; and, in the mean time, sent off an express to acquaint him, that Cas-de-Navirre Bay was the fittest place for him to water in, and that the fleet and troops at Martinico should be ready to sail the moment of his arrival.

Sir James Douglas made Jamaica on the 11th of April, and having received intelligence from Commodore Forrest, that a French squadron was in Port-St.-François, in the Island of Hispaniola, and that they intended to join the Spaniards at the Havanna, with all the reinforcements they could collect; it was, in consequence of these advices, thought necessary to dispatch immediately as many of the ships as could be spared from the Jamaica station, to cruize off the port of St.-François, and, if possible, block up the French ships in it. It was off Port-Royal, in Jamaica, that this resolution was taken; and the ships to be employed in this service, had sixty or seventy leagues to work up to windward. Captain Hervey was ordered, with a broad pendant, on board the Dragon, to take on him the command of the

Temeraire	Alcide
Nottingham	Stirling-castle
Pembroke	Defiance
Dover	Portmahon, and
Huffar	Trent,

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and to take, besides, under his orders, all the ships he might meet with cruizing about that island.

Captain Hervey, on his arrival off Port-St-François, found the French squadron all ready for sea; but on the third day after, the troops that were on board disembarked, and M. de Blenac, in consequence of a message he had received from the Governor of the Havanna, gave over all thoughts of going immediately to sea.

Extracts for Mr. Monte's History of the War in America. By J. Lodge.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
LATE WAR IN AMERICA.
BOOK X.

The English resolve to attack the Havanna.—Sea and land-forces sent against it.—They arrive at Barbadoes;—at Martinico.—Proceed to the Havanna.—Spanish vessels taken.—Force of the Spaniards at the Havanna.—The English land in its neighbourhood.—Rout a body of Spanish cavalry.—Take post at Guanamacoa.—Besiege the Moro.—The Spaniards make a sally;—are repulsed.—The Moro cannonaded by sea.—Arrival of troops from North-America.—The Moro taken by assault.—The cannon of the Moro turned against the Havanna.—The Governor summoned to surrender.—Refuses.—Batteries erected against the town, opened.—The Governor desires to capitulate;—Granted.—The articles of capitulation.

WE have already mentioned the declaration of war made by the English against the Spaniards, and are now to give an account of the hostilities which followed it. The most effectual method that the former could take to annoy the latter, and at the same time counteract the formidable accession of strength which France, by this time almost subdued, must otherwise

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otherwise receive from the acquisition of such an ally, was vigorously to attack some of the Spanish settlements in America, before they could be put into a proper posture of defence: For, should this plan be attended with success, it would not only obstruct the channels through which the Spaniards received all their wealth from that quarter of the globe, but possibly deprive them of the very sources which furnished it. The Havanna, on the Island of Cuba, was therefore the object singled out by the British ministry, as the most proper to accomplish these ends.

This city is situated exactly under the tropic of Cancer, 83° west of London, and is by far the most considerable place in the West-Indies, as well on account of its trade, as of its harbour and docks, in which ships of war of the first magnitude are built. But what rendered it of yet far greater consequence, was its being also the key of the riches of Mexico, and the usual repository till their final embarkation for Old Spain. The harbour lies to the east of the town, and is spacious enough to receive an hundred ships of the line. The entrance into it is defended by the Moro, a fort built upon a narrow point of land to the north of the town, and which is large enough to hold a garrison of one thousand men, with all necessary provisions to resist a long and vigorous siege. It contains very good casements, and two cisterns which afford plenty of water. As it stands on steep rocks, it is inaccessible from the sea, which lashes its foundations. It is fortified to the east with two bastions, a courtin and good covered way, with a dry ditch, half of which is cut out of the solid rock. It commands the Fort de la Punta on the opposite side of the harbour's mouth, part of the town, and its three bastions to the north. A little
more

more within the entrance into the harbour, and on the Moro side, is a battery built of stone, called the Twelve Apostles; and a little higher up, another called the Shepherds battery; above these a chain of hills called the Cavannos, extend themselves from the Moro to the plains of Guanamacoa. These hills command the town and docks, and can always be protected by the ships in port, the very bottom of the harbour affording anchorage for men of war of the first rate, and being withal defended by a steep hill called Gonzales.

A chain of ten bastions and nine curtains, with an indifferent covered way, and some counterguards before the fronts of the bastions, form the ceinture of the town to the west. The ground in front is, in some places, marshy, the rest is nothing but bare rock, the earth that formerly covered it having been taken away to construct the ramparts of the town. It is no uncommon thing, however, to meet upon such rocks, with morasses two or three feet deep, formed by the rain-water collected in the hollows, and producing, in the course of its stagnation, herbs and slime, the general materials of morasses on all bottoms.

All the eastern coast is covered with wood, the rest of the environs of the town is entirely cleared, and well cultivated; and besides embellished with several small villages, and a prodigious number of country houses.

The operations against this capital object, by the possession of which England might be sure to intercept the treasures that were to give vigour to the united efforts of the house of Bourbon, were to be conducted by the Right Honourable the Earl
of

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of Albemarle, as Commander-in-chief of the land-forces, and by Admiral Sir George Pococke, who was to command the fleet.

This enterprize, so great in its consequences, that it might at once influence the fortune of the whole war in favour of the English, seemed to demand a very great force, to be attended with certain success; and it was therefore but reasonable to conclude, that every nerve and sinew would be strained in fitting out the armament to be employed on the occasion, in a manner suitable to the importance of its destination. But according to the plan of collecting the army and the navy for this service, there were, in all appearance, so many and such great obstacles to overcome, especially with regard to the disposition of the ships and troops which were to compose them, that fortune must be extremely partial in favour of the English, if the necessary junction of them succeeded in every particular. The army was to be composed of sixteen thousand men; of which, notwithstanding, four thousand only were to go from England. General Monckton, it was supposed, could furnish eight thousand more; and the remaining four thousand were to be supplied by General Amherst, from the Continent of North-America. The fleet was to be made as powerful as possible: yet Sir George Pococke was to take with him from England but five ships of the line; the most considerable part of his strength being to be formed by ships already in the West-Indies, under Admiral Rodney: But a Spanish fleet of nine ships of the line, then lying in Ferrol harbour, caused an addition of two more ships, which, however, were only to accompany the fleet to the latitude of Cape-Finisterre, and then return to England. As to the troops expected from General Monckton, no accounts had been received from him since he failed on his expedition from New-York; nor was it known whether

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whether he had undertaken the reduction of Martinico, or in what part of the West-Indies he was to be found in case he had, and had miscarried in the attempt. The fleet under the command of Admiral Rodney was in the same predicament; and the quota of troops to be furnished by Sir Jeffery Amherst was to consist only of two thousand provincials yet to be raised, and two thousand regulars to be drawn from Canada and the interior garrisons in other parts of North-America.

By the slenderness of this force, and the extreme uncertainty of collecting it, at least in due time to enter on action before the Spaniards could be prepared to receive an enemy, and take advantage, withal, of the only season fit for military operations within the tropics, we can scarcely conclude that this plan against the Havanna was adopted with any spirit, or that it was intended to operate to any great advantage. Yet, by the instructions to the Earl of Albemarle, the British ministry seem to have been uncommonly solicitous, that no time should be lost in carrying the enterprize into immediate execution; for every other plan of operations in the West-Indies, even those actually entered upon, were to yield to the intended operations of the fleet and the army under Sir George Pococke and the Earl of Albemarle; nay, had General Monckton already attacked Martinico, he was to relinquish it, and directly embark with his troops to reinforce the Earl of Albemarle. As, under these circumstances, the General could not possibly know where to assemble his forces, it was judged necessary to dispatch the Richmond, Captain Elphinstone, immediately in quest of Admiral Rodney, with the orders for him we have already mentioned, to collect all his ships and hold them in readiness to receive Sir George Pococke's commands on his arrival in those seas.

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The Admiral and the General now repaired to Portsmouth, where the one was almost without a fleet, and the other without an army. However, with the little certain force they had, they were going to attempt the execution of a plan, the issue of which, whether fortunate or unfortunate, would in some degree affect almost every power in Europe.

However inadequate to the service, the force to execute it appeared to be, the hopes of the nation were animated from the confidence that the people had in the Admiral; whose abilities, supported by an inflexible resolution, had, during a long command, been the preserver and guardian of the British possessions in Asia, and whose naval skill gained his inferior squadron a superiority over that of the French in two engagements on those seas; it was not therefore doubted, but that the same abilities would be exerted with the same ardour against a new enemy in a new quarter of the globe.

In this enterprize the Honourable Commodore Keppel was appointed second in command, with a distinguishing pendant. This officer had signalized himself during the whole progress of the war. He added Goree to the British empire: But his great judgment and activity, so eminently displayed during the more recent reduction of Belle-Isle, was assurance of success to any operations that the Admiral might think proper to entrust to his execution.

The staff of the army was as follows:

The Earl of Albemarle, Commander-in-Chief.

Six aids de camp.

Lieutenant General Elliot, second in command.

Two aids de camp.

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Major General la Fauville.

One aid de camp.

Major General Keppel.

One aid de camp.

Colonel Carleton, quarter master general.

Major Poole his deputy, with two assistants.

The Honourable Colonel Howe, adjutant general.

Lieutenant Colonel Ackland, his deputy.

Captain of the guides.

Charles Leechmere, commissary general of stores.

George Durant, Esq; deputy paymaster general of the forces.

Provost Martial.

Sir Clifton Wintringham, director general, and first physician to the hospital.

One deputy director.

Three physicians.

Four apothecaries.

Four surgeons.

Forty-four assistants.

The army was composed of the following troops:

The 9th Regiment, Whitmore's, consisting of	977
34th, Lord Frederic Cavendish's, —	976
56th, Honourable Major General Keppel, —	933
72d, The Duke of Richmond, — —	986
Volunteers, being French prisoners drawn out of the different prisons, but supposed to be protestants, commanded by Major Freron, — — —	217
Royal artillery, — —	270
Brigade of engineers, — —	6
Total,	4365

1762.

These troops being all embarked, and the store and victualling ships all in readiness by the fifth day of March, the Admiral and the General, both on board the *Namur*, immediately sailed from Portsmouth, with the

Valiant, the Honourable Commodore Keppel, Captain Duncan.

Belleisle, - Captain Joseph Knight.

Hamptoncourt, - - - Innis.

Rippon, - - - Jekel.

Thirty transports.

Nineteen store and victualling ships, besides

Eight loaded with artillery.

Off Plymouth they were joined by the *Burford* and the *Florentine*. On the 11th, the *St. Pret*, a French East-India ship, of seven hundred tons burthen, with 230 men, besides passengers, and laden with coffee and pepper, bound from the Island of Bourbon to Port-L'Orient, struck to the *Valiant*, and was escorted into Plymouth by the *Burford*. One of the large store-ships having run foul of another vessel, and being thereby too much disabled to proceed, the stores were taken out of her, and she was sent into port, under convoy of the *Rippon*. By the departure of these two men of war, the fleet was reduced to its original strength; and soon after it had entered on the Atlantic Ocean, there arose a violent storm, which separated it; but without any other material injury. The *Namur* arrived at Barbadoes on the 20th of April, after a passage of forty-five days, and here the fleet again united; the *Rippon*, notwithstanding her having been sent into Plymouth, had come in with some

some transports, a few days before. To this place Major Money Penny had been dispatched by General Monckton, to acquaint Lord Albemarle with the success of his Majesty's arms against Martinico. The Admiral therefore now steered for that island, where he arrived on the 26th of April, and anchored in Cas-de-Navire's Bay, where Admiral Rodney delivered up the command of his ships to Sir George Pococke, and General Monckton that of his troops to the Earl of Albemarle; and then both navy and army vigorously entered, in their different departments, upon all the preparations necessary for the prosecuting of their intended enterprize. The seamen were employed in victualling and watering the ships, the soldiers in cutting and making fascines. Dispatches were sent to Sir James Douglas to repair immediately, with all the ships under his command, and others sent him by Admiral Rodney to Cape-Nicholas, the north-west point of Hispaniola, and there wait the arrival of Admiral Pococke.

The fleet now immediately under Sir George Pococke, consisted of the

Namur,	-	90 guns,	Sir George Pococke,	Captain Harrison.
Valiant,	-	74	Commodore Keppel,	Duncan.
Belleisle,	-	64	-	Captain Knight.
Hamptoncourt,	64	-	-	Innis.
Orford,	-	66	-	Arbuthnot.
Edgar,	-	60	-	Drake.
Marlborough,	68	-	-	Burnet.
Rippon,	-	60	-	Jekel.
Culloden,	-	74	-	Barker.

Mercury,

HISTORY OF THE

Mercury,	-	-	-	Captain Goodall.
Basilisk,				
Alarm,	-	-	-	Almes.
Lurcher.				

The following regiments composed the army:

From England,

9th, Whitmore's,	-	-	977
34th, Lord Frederic Cavendish,	-	-	976
56th, Major General Keppel,	-	-	933
72d, Duke of Richmond,	-	-	986
Volunteers,	-	-	217
Royal artillery,	-	-	270
Brigade of engineers,	-	-	6
			<hr/> 4365

From North-America.

15th, Amherst's,	-	-	423
17th, Monckton's,	-	-	535
27th, Blakeney,	-	-	536
28th, Townsend's,	-	-	378
35th, Otway's,	-	-	471
40th, Armiger's,	-	-	380
42d, Second battalion, Royal Highlanders,			484
43d, Talbot's,	-	-	380
48th, Webb's,	-	-	525
60th, Third battalion, Royal Americans,			587
Royal artillery,	-	-	107
Brigade engineers,	-	-	9
			<hr/> 5382

From England and North-America, 9747

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From England and North-America, 9747

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From South-Carolina,

1st Regiment, four companies,	-	320	
77th, Montgomery's,	- - -	605	
95th, Burton's,	- - -	585	
		<hr/>	1510

From Dominica,

22d,	- - - - -	602	
94th, Vaughan's,	- - -	387	
		<hr/>	989

From Guadaloupe,

4th,	- - - - -	225	
65th, Malpafs,	- - -	104	
100th, Campbell's,	- - -	356	
		<hr/>	685

From Antigua,

38th, Watfon's,	- - -	289	
		<hr/>	289

From Belleisle,

69th, Colville's	- - -	556	
76th, Two battalions, Rufane,	- - -	1048	
90th, Morgan's,	- - -	465	
98th, Grey's,	- - -	370	
		<hr/>	2439

Total, 15659

Out

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Total, 15659

Out of the above troops, Lord Albemarle,
besides leaving some sick at Martinico, gar-
risoned it with

The 69th,	-	-	-	-	556
76th,	-	-	-	-	1048

And St. Lucia, Dominica, Grenada, and the
Grenadillas, with the

38th,	-	-	-	-	289
94th,	-	-	-	-	387
98th,	-	-	-	-	370
100th,	-	-	-	-	356

4308

So that there remained for the Havanna expe-
dition but

11351

The maritime defence of Martinico was entrusted to Admiral Rodney, with a small squadron. General Monckton, who so lately led an army to victory, had now the choice left him of the inactive government of the Island of Martinico, which he had conquered, or to accompany the earl of Albemarle as third in command: but his health being much impaired, he, in order to re-establish it, desired leave to return to his government of New-York; which being complied with, the government of Martinico devolved on Major General Rufane.

The regiments which the Earl of Albemarle received from General Monckton, having each a light-infantry company, those from England were ordered to be put on the same footing; and the light-infantry of the whole were formed into one corps. The grenadiers were divided into three battalions,

lions, and the remainder of the army into five brigades, to be commanded by brigadiers Haviland, Grant, Reed, Lord Rollo, and Walsb. The four companies of light-infantry from England, with one battalion of the grenadiers, were given to Colonel Carleton, and the remaining two battalions of grenadiers to Colonel Howe.

Previous to Lord Albemarle's leaving England, orders were sent to the Governor of Jamaica, to raise two thousand stout negroes, for the service of the army, it being thought impossible for the troops to do all the laborious work incident to the business of a siege in so hot a climate. He was likewise ordered to raise five hundred negroes accustomed to arms, who were to be regimented with proper officers. But Lord Albemarle, being apprehensive of some delay in the execution of these orders, considering how much the governor and the inhabitants of Jamaica were alarmed at the arrival of M. de Blenac's squadron, or that these negroes, if raised, might be intercepted by some part of that squadron, on their passage to join him, prudently gave orders, at all events, for the purchasing of eight hundred or a thousand negroes at Martinico, St. Christopher's, and Antigua. Matters being thus settled, the Admiral and General, on the 6th of May, sailed from Martinico, with the ships and troops before mentioned; and, on the 17th arrived off Cape-Nicholas, where, on the 23d, they were joined by the ships from Jamaica, and the squadron under Captain Hervey, that had been cruising off Cape-François, to block up M. de Blenac, whose design was, if possible, to form a junction with the Spanish fleet in the harbour of the Havanna; as together, they would be in a condition to give battle to the English fleet.

G g g

Accordingly,

HISTORY OF THE

Accordingly, he had, with this view, offered his endeavours to the Governor of the Havanna; but all the answer the latter returned, was a verbal message, that he would as soon admit an English as a French fleet into his harbour.

The English fleet now consisted of

Ships of the line. Guns. Captains.			Frigates.	Captains.
Namur,	-	90	Harrison.	Sutherland, Everett.
Valiant,	-	74	Duncan.	Thunder,
Culloden,	-	74	Barker.	Lizard, Banks.
Pembroke,	-	60	Wheelock.	Mercury, Goodall.
Orford,	-	66	Arbuthnot.	Glasgow, Douglas.
Temeraire,	-	74	Barton.	Grenado,
Rippon,	-	60	Jekel.	Trent, Lindfay.
Marlborough,	-	68	Burnett.	Cerberus, Webber.
Bellisle,	-	64	Knight.	Alarm, Almes.
Dragon,	-	74	Hervey.	Dover, Ogle.
Centaur,	-	74	Lampriere.	Richmond, Elphinstone.
Edgar,	-	60	Drake.	Ferrett,
Alcide,	-	64	Hankerson.	Bonetta,
Devonshire,	-	66	Marshall.	Basilisk,
Defiance,	-	60	M'Kenzie.	Echo, Lendrick.
Dublin,	-	74	Gascoigne.	Lurcher,
Cambridge,	-	80	Goosetree.	Enterprize, Holton.
Hampton-court,	64	Innis.	Porcupine,	
Stirling-castle,	64	Campbell.	Cygnets, Napier.	
Temple,	-	70	Legge.	Peggy.
Nottingham,	-	60	Collingwood.	
Intrepid,	-	60	Hale.	

With

With this fleet the Admiral had the choice of two routs to the Havanna: The first and most obvious was the common one, along the south-side of Cuba, and so into the tract of the galleons. But this, though by much the safest, could not but prove equally tedious; and delays, above all things, were to be avoided, as the success of the whole enterprize depended, to all appearance, on its being in forwardness before the hurricane season came on. He therefore resolved to run along the north shore of that island, through that very intricate and almost unknown passage of the old Bahama Straits, in length near sixty leagues; and this though in great want of pilots for such a course: for, though many had arrived from Providence and other islands, yet scarce any one of them had the least satisfactory knowledge of these straits, or was able to take the charge of a single ship through them, much less to conduct so large a fleet: But these circumstances, however discouraging, could not check the resolute ardour of an admiral long used to struggle with difficulties. The first reason that induced him to risk this passage, and it must be allowed to be a very material one, was, that if he endeavoured to go round the island of Cuba, besides the unavoidable great tediousness of the passage, many of the transports and heavy laden store-ships would not, perhaps, have been able to beat up again in time from the west-end of Cuba to the Havanna, against the trade-winds and currents. The second was, that by going that way, he must have left the passage of the old Bahama Straits open to the French, and they might, in the interim, slip through them to the Havanna, and reinforce the Spaniards, if the latter would accept of their assistance; for, from the west-end of Hispaniola, they could not avoid seeing the English fleet

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bear away along the south-side of Cuba; and this circumstance must soon be known at Port-St.-François.

The Admiral, therefore, having first prepared a sufficient number of frigates, tenders, long-boats, and barges to take the lead, and place themselves all along the passage, on the different shoals, with lights by night, and flags by day, to direct the headmost ships of the fleet, divided this great armament into seven divisions, the better to work clear of each other, and avoid all confusion. Then, on the 27th of May, he made the signal to bear away in the following order :

First division.

	Alarm.		Mercury.
Dragon.		Namur,	Centaur.
		Sir George Pocock.	
		Light-infantry.	
		Three battalions of grenadiers.	
		Two hospital ships.	
Nottingham.		Three artillery ships.	Dover.

Second division.

Grenada.		Valiant,	Edgar.
		Commodore Keppel.	
		First Brigade.	
		Two hospital ships.	
Trent.		Three artillery ships.	Richmond.

Third

Third Division.

Rippon.	Belleisle, Captain Joseph Knight. Second Brigade. One hospital ship.	Orford.
Pembroke.	Three artillery ships.	Huffar.

Fourth Division.

Glasgow.	Temeraire, Captain Barton. Twenty-four store ships.	Penzance.
Thunder.	Four ships with fascines. Two with negroes. Three with horses.	Deptford.
Barbadoes.	Six with the baggage of general officers.	Boreas.

Fifth Division.

Viper.	Culloden, Captain Barker. Third Brigade. One hospital ship.	Ferret.
Cerberus.	Two with artillery.	Bonetta.

Sixth Division.

Alcide.	Cambridge, Captain Goosetree. Fourth brigade. One hospital ship.	Basilisk.
Centurion.		Eccho.
Devonshire.	Two ships with artillery.	Rose.

Seventh

HISTORY OF THE

Seventh Division.

Defiance.

Marlborough,
Captain Burnet.

Temple.

Fifth brigade.

Hampton-court.

One hospital ship.
Three with artillery.

Portmahon.

Stirling-castle.

Hampshire.

Lurcher.

The whole fleet consisted of

Ships of the line,	-	-	-	-	23
Frigates, bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and their tenders,					24
Transport ships with troops on board,	-	-	-	-	93
Artillery ships,	-	-	-	-	16
Hospital ships,	-	-	-	-	8
Provision ships,	-	-	-	-	24
Ships with fascines,	-	-	-	-	4
with negroes,	-	-	-	-	2
with horses,	-	-	-	-	3
with the baggage of general officers,	-	-	-	-	6

Total, 203

On the 2d of June, the Alarm and Echo being ordered a-head to lie on the *Cayo Sal* bank, the former made the signal for seeing five sail in the north-west quarter, and then both chased. About two o'clock in the afternoon, Captain Alms in the Alarm, came up with, and engaged the Vanganza, a Spanish frigate of twenty-two guns and two hundred men; and the Phoenix store ship armed for war, of eighteen guns and seventy-five men; and, in three quarters of an hour, both struck to him. The Vanganza had ten men killed and fourteen wounded; the Alarm seven men killed and ten wounded. A brigantine

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and two schooners were at first in company with the Vanganza; but one of the latter escaped. They were bound to Sagoa, in the straits, for timber for the use of the ships at the Havanna, from whence they had sailed twelve days before. During the passage through the Straits of Bahama, the weather proved very fine, and the current moderate; and, on the 5th of June, the whole fleet was clear through and in sight of the Metances.

By the taking of the above Spanish frigates, the Admiral and the General obtained very good intelligence concerning the condition of the enemy; a circumstance at this time particularly desirable. The purport of this intelligence was, that the Spaniards had sixteen men of war in the harbour of the Havanna, almost ready for sea; that they were not in the least expectation of a visit from the English; and that the garrison consisted of very few troops: But on the other hand, the Governor of Havanna was now as certainly informed of the nature of the visit he was going to receive, by the vessel which escaped; he therefore immediately summoned a council of war, in which, besides the resident officers of his own garrison, he was assisted by the Count de Superunda, Lieutenant General of his Catholic Majesty's forces, and late Viceroy of the kingdom of Peru; and Don Diego Tavares, a Major General, knight of the order of St. James, and late Governor of Carthagen; these officers being accidentally at the Havanna on their passage to Old Spain from their respective governments. In this council, it was resolved to defend the Moro to the last extremity, as the preservation of the town wholly depended upon the defence that fort could make. Accordingly, the present Governor being old and infirm, Don Lewis de Velasco, captain of a man of war, was entrusted with this important service; and the Marquis de
Gonzales,

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Gonzales, likewise captain of a man of war, was nominated the second in command. These points being settled, the Governor proceeded to declare war in form against England, that ceremony being absolutely necessary to justify the arraying the militia, who, by law, serve only in time of war. The regular troops at the Havanna were as follows:

Cavalry,

1 Squadron of the place.

4 of Arragon,

4 of Edingburgh,

 9 Squadrons, at 90 men *per* squadron, - 810

Infantry,

1 Battalion of the place, - - 700

2 of Spain, - - 1400

2 of Arragon, - - 1400

3 Companies of artillery, - - 300

1 Brigade of engineers,

 3800

 Total of land forces, - - 4610

 Marines and failors, - - 9000

 Total, 13610

To the above forces, the activity and the diligence of the Spanish officers soon added a number of militia, mulattoes, and negroes, so as to form, all together, a body of thirty thousand men, by the time the English arrived in sight of the Havanna. The principal part of their regular troops were ordered to oppose the progress of the invaders; and, for that purpose, take post at a considerable village called Guanamacoa, and the remainder were occupied in such business as was judged

judged most essential towards contributing to their safety. But the fleet, consisting of

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The Tiger, 70	The Sovereign, 70	The Asia, - 64
Queen, 70	Neptune, 70	America, 60
Infant, 70	Eagle, - 70	Conqueror, 60
Europe, 60	January, 60	St. Anthony, 60

which lay in the harbour, was ordered to continue at anchor. Whether they were thus inactive for want of instructions, whether all their ships were not in a fighting condition, or whatever else was the cause, we cannot determine. If some of the above reasons did not forbid it, we may very rationally suppose, that their best way would have been to come out and fight the English squadron; and though the issue of a battle might have proved unfavourable to them; yet a battle tolerably maintained, would have much disabled the English armament, and perhaps have been the means of disconcerting the whole enterprize. The loss of their fleet in this way might have possibly saved the city; but the city once taken, nothing could preserve the fleet. It is true, the Spaniards much trusted to the strength of the place, and to those astonishing difficulties which attend military operations drawn out to any length in this unhealthy climate. In other respects, they were very far from being deficient in proper measures for their defence.

But to return to the operations of the English: On the 6th of June, the Havanna, the aim of so long a voyage, and the object of so many anxious hopes and fears, was now before them.

H h h

1762. them. The Admiral brought to, about five leagues to the eastward of that city, to issue directions to the captains of his fleet, and the masters of the transports, with regard to the landing of the army.

The fleet was formed into two divisions. Six ships of the line, some frigates, and the flat-bottomed boats, manned from the fleet, formed the division that was to cover the debarkation of the troops, under the command of Commodore Keppel. Thirteen sail of the line, two frigates, the bomb-ketches, and thirty-six sail of victuallers and store-ships, formed the Admiral's division, with which, about two in the afternoon, he bore away and ran down off the harbour, where he discovered twelve ships of the line, and several merchantmen. There not being on board the whole fleet a single man acquainted with the coast, nor any spot being as yet absolutely fixed on for the making of a descent, the Alarm and Richmond were sent, with the Colonels Carleton and Howe, to reconnoitre the shore. In the mean time, orders were given for the disposition of the first debarkation of the troops, who were to be commanded by Lieutenant General Elliot, Major General Keppel, and Brigadier Haviland. The third battalion of grenadiers was to do duty as a corps de reserve under Colonel Carleton. The first and second battalions were commanded by Colonel Howe. The Earl of Albemarle was to be in the barge of the Valiant, with the Commodore. The troops, on landing, were to form into one line, the corps de reserve in their rear. A lieutenant was appointed to conduct each flat-bottomed boat; and when the signal was made, these boats were to repair to their respective rendezvous, at the sterns of the following men of war, whose Captains were to conduct
I them

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them on shore, under the immediate direction of Commodore Keppel.

Rippon,	Orford,	Dragon,	Valiant,	Temeraire,	Dover,	Pembroke,
35. reg.	56. reg.	2d batt.	1st batt.	light in-	3d batt.	corps
		of grens.	of	fantry.	Royal	de
		and the	grens.		Amer.	reserve.
		royal.				

The officers of the troops were, upon no account, to interfere in the manœuvres performed on the water, the Commodore having the sole direction of every thing to be done on that element.

The third, fourth, and fifth brigades, under the command of Major General Lafauille, were to remain on board, till flat-bottomed boats were sent to receive and land them. Brigadier Walsh was to land with his brigade. The transports of the first debarkation were ordered to get as close to land as possible, for the greater convenience of putting the troops on shore; and the Generals Elliot and Keppel were on board the Dragon, Captain Hervey, in readiness to land with the troops when the Commodore should make the signal. A convenient place having been fixed upon for this purpose, the next morning, about ten, the Admiral made a feint to land four miles to the west of the Havanna, at the same time that the Commodore began to land in good earnest, and did it so effectually, that in about an hour, the troops were all on shore, without any opposition, between the rivers *Boca-Nao* and *Coximer*, six miles to the eastward of the Moro. The Commodore ordered Captain Hervey in the Dragon to run in, and batter a small fort situated at the mouth of that river, which prevented the troops from fording

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762. it. This service Captain Hervey executed in about an hour. The army then moved on; and the advanced guard, commanded by Colonel Carleton, forded the river. The Earl of Albemarle, on being informed of Captain Hervey's success, liberally rewarded the crew of his ship; then, having passed the Coximer with the grenadiers and light infantry, his Lordship took up his quarters that night upon the banks of that river, the army lying upon their arms along the shore, with the pickets advanced into the woods.

A'l this while, the men of war and the transports kept mostly under fail, not being very certain of safe anchorage; but the Dragon having continued at an anchor off the Coximer, the Commodore went on board in the evening, and made a signal from that ship the next morning, for the fleet to anchor, which was immediately obeyed. In England, it was not thought practicable to anchor on this coast; at least it was believed, that the ships could not remain so any time: but had this been the case, it would have been impossible for the general to carry on his operations ashore. This coast, it must be confessed, is full of danger, when the wind blows from a certain point; but prudence must sometimes give way to necessity, and this was now the case; for the ground on which the Commodore's division actually lay, was so foul, that the cables were continually cutting; and consequently, had a north wind arisen, the ships must have been in inevitable danger of going on shore upon a bed of pointed rocks.

The General having determined to take post at a village called Guanamacoa, about six miles from the landing place, he ordered a road to be cut through the woods to a large plain,
at

at the extremity of which the above village is situated; and having added the light infantry of the army to the corps under the command of Colonel Carleton, he ordered the Colonel with that corps through the wood, by another rout, to gain the same village; and detached Colonel Howe with two battalions of grenadiers, to reconnoitre the Mōro. The road being cut by the morning, the General marched the remainder of the army through it, and gained the plain. Colonel Carleton, on his side, having penetrated the wood, discovered in his passage through the gorge of the hills which skirt the plain, a large body of cavalry advantageously posted upon a rising ground between his corps and the village. Upon this he changed his order of march, which had, till now, been in a column, by breaking the column into two parts, the rear of which marched by files to the left of the front, till the head men of both were abreast. In this position, with a hundred light infantry in his front, and as many grenadiers in his rear, he continued his march, leaving on his right a morass, which lay between him and the Spaniards. But now he discovered a large body of infantry in and about the village of Guanamacoa: He moved on, however, with a view of gaining some advantageous post; and though he succeeded, he did not think it prudent, as the men under his command did not exceed eleven hundred, to advance any farther without orders, or a reinforcement from the main body of the army led on by the Earl of Albemarle in person, who was now in sight, with only the River Coximer, which was fordable in every part between them. Lord Albemarle having ordered the Colonel to advance and fall upon the Spaniards on his side of the village, whilst his Lordship charged them on the other side; the former, as soon as he

judged.

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judged the latter sufficiently advanced for the intended attack, put his corps in motion again; but when he had got within half a mile of the village, he was obliged, from the situation of the ground, and the intervention of a deep road, to change his order of march. This being observed by the Spaniards, the Edingburgh regiment of dragoons came down on a gallop to attack his right, hoping to reach it before his new position was completed; but they were disappointed: His troops were already formed, the grenadiers being thrown into the hollow of the road; and the light infantry, on the approach of the Spanish cavalry, threw them, by a smart fire, into such confusion, that before it was possible for Lord Albemarle to come up, they were totally dispersed.

On the 9th, the Moro castle was farther reconnoitred, and the General marched the army from Guanamacoa, and encamped in the woods between the Coximer river and the Moro, leaving a corps at Guanamacoa, under the command of Lieutenant General Elliot, to secure the avenues on that side, and a large tract of country which could supply the army with cattle and vegetables. His Lordship then, having brought with him from England a number of saddles and bridles, formed a troop of light horse, consisting of one hundred. The horses were taken from the Spaniards, and proved of great service, as well for patrols, as to procure cattle for the subsistence of the army left under the command of General Elliot, and was added to the corps of observation.

The fleet was all this time constantly employed in landing cannon, ammunition, stores, and provisions of all kinds. A number of seamen were daily allotted to these essential services, which

which were wholly conducted by the sea-officers, and what was landed, was carried on, under their direction, to the very camp. There was no longer any appearance of the Spanish ships endeavouring to get out, a boom having been laid across the harbour, several large ships having been, besides, sunk in the mouth of it, and the whole fleet unrigging.

On the hills called the Cavannos, the enemy had a post, from which the General determined to dislodge them: On the 11th, therefore, Colonel Carleton was ordered on this service, with the light infantry and grenadiers; and having properly invested it, made the necessary dispositions for attacking it the next morning. The General, in order to facilitate this operation, desired the Admiral would endeavour to draw off the attention of the enemy from this business, by an attack on the Chorera castle, to the west side of the town. Accordingly, Captain Knight in the *Belleisle*, with two frigates, were ordered in for that purpose; but the water not being of a sufficient depth to carry them as near the fort as could be wished, it was some time before this service was effectually executed; and during the firing, Lieutenant Biggs and several seamen, were severely burnt by the blowing up of some cartridges. However, about one o'clock, the Colonel proceeded to attack a redoubt, which was carried by his light infantry with little opposition from the enemy in it; but in the midst of a most terrible fire, both from the shipping in the harbour and the *Moro*, one single shot of whose guns killed eleven men of Lieutenant Colonel Massey's grenadiers. The acquisition of this post was justly considered as an advantage of the greatest consequence, since, in the hands of the enemy, it entirely covered the men of war in the harbour, and would have taken in flank, any approaches

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approaches that could have been carried on against the Moro. In case, therefore, of another attack on the Havanna, this is the post we should first endeavour to secure; and we should do it at all events, as it will entirely command the motions of the shipping in the harbour. The English now established a post here, which they called the Spanish redoubt.

As the Spaniards seemed to direct their chief attention to the security of the Moro castle, as of the utmost consequence towards the preservation of the city, the General, for the same reason, determined to carry on his approaches against that fort; and committed the direction of them to the Honourable Major General Keppel. With this view it was again reconnoitred, with as much accuracy as the nature of the thick woods surrounding it would permit. It was with difficulty discovered, that the parapet of the fort was thin, and all of masonry; and this discovery shewed the necessity of erecting a battery against it, as near as the cover of the woods would permit. Preparations were therefore immediately made for this work, and parties were ordered to cut fascines and collect earth. The latter proved a work of great labour, the country hereabouts being little better than a bare rock, and the soil, where any was to be found, exceedingly thin. On the 13th, however, two batteries were begun; one but one hundred and ninety-two yards from the Moro, and called the grand battery; the other a hawitz battery beyond the Spanish redoubt. The design of this last battery was to drive the shipping higher up the harbour, as they very much annoyed the English by a heavy fire of random-shot into the woods. It would have been absolutely impossible to carry on these batteries without the assistance of the negroes, whom, as we have said before, Lord Albemarle had
fortunately

fortunately ordered to be purchased for the service of his Majesty during this siege. These poor fellows had arrived the day before, and proved extremely useful in carrying ammunition to the several batteries, which we shall presently see opened on the 1st of July.

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In order to make a diversion in favour of this grand operation, Colonel Howe, who, together with Colonel Carleton, were now appointed brigadiers, was detached, on the 15th, to the west-side of the town near the Chorera castle, with three hundred light infantry, and the grenadiers of the army, with six field-pieces. At the same time, the Admiral having found it necessary to order eight hundred marines to be formed into two battalions commanded by the Majors Campbell and Collins, Lord Albemarle signified his request, that they might be landed and encamp with Colonel Howe, whose detachment was thereby effectually enabled to do several very considerable services. Besides cutting off the communication between the town and the country, and keeping the enemy's attention perpetually divided, the Colonel secured a post at St. Lazare, and another at the snuff-mills on the River Chorera, to check the enemy, and to protect the parties employed in taking in water at the mouth of that river for the use of the army on the east-side of the town.

The hardships which the English troops sustained in forwarding their approaches against the Moro, are altogether inexpressible. There being no river or even spring near them, it was necessary to bring them water from a great distance; and so scanty and precarious was this supply, that they were obliged to have recourse to water from the ships. Roads of communication were to be cut through thick woods, and the artillery

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was to be dragged for a vast way over a rough rocky shore. Several of the men, on these services, dropped down dead with heat, thirst, and fatigue. But such was the spirit of the English, and such the happy and perfect unanimity that subsisted between the land and the sea departments, that no difficulty or distress could slacken for a single moment the operations against this important, but equally strong and well defended place. Batteries were, in spite of all obstacles, raised against the Moro, and against the ships in the harbour, to drive them deeper into it, and thereby prevent their obstructing the approaches against that principal object.

The fire on both sides soon became pretty equal, and continued so, with great vivacity, for a long time. The Spaniards in the fort had a free communication with the town, from which they were constantly supplied and relieved every twenty-four hours. They did not, however, rely solely on their works; for, on the 29th of June, at day-break, they made a sally with two detachments, each consisting of five hundred grenadiers and other chosen men, with a body of mulattoes and armed negroes. One of these detachments landed upon the right of the English, under the Moro; the other upon their left, by the lime-kiln; and, favoured by the thickness of the woods, and the darkness of the night, reached as far as the *Dépôt*, with an intention to nail up the cannon there; but both were repulsed and dispersed by the pickets and advanced posts, with the loss of about two hundred killed and made prisoners. The wounded took advantage of the woods to make their escape. The alertness of the English troops on this occasion manifested itself in a very particular manner. The encampment commanded by Major Ogilvie, being the nearest to the scene of action, he

he did not wait for orders to hasten to the aid of his fellow soldiers; he came up with the Spaniards just as they had penetrated to the cannon that were drawn up to mount on the batteries; and not only prevented their spiking them up, but otherwise contributed greatly to the repulsing and dispersing of them.

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The 1st of July was signalized by the opening of
The grand battery of eight 24 pounders, and two 13 inch mortars,
One - of four ditto, two ditto,
Left parallel, - - - two 10 inch ditto,
12 royals,
Battery on the beach, - - - two 13 inch ditto,
one 10 inch ditto,
14 royals;

forming, in the whole, a fire of twelve twenty-four pounders, nine mortars, and twenty-six royals. The fire of the Spaniards exceeded that of the English on the front attacked, where they had about sixteen or seventeen cannon, from six to twelve pounders, but only one mortar, and that too they seldom used; but upon the whole, the fire of the English was, by this, become much superior to that of the Spaniards: Yet, to render it still more formidable, the Admiral sent the Dragon, Marlborough, Cambridge, and Stirling-castle, under the command of Captain Hervey, to cannonade the Moro, with a view to slacken the fire of the Spaniards from the front of that fort attacked on the land-side by the English army. The Stirling-castle, Captain Campbell, was ordered to lead, until the first ship could be properly placed; but Captain Campbell shrunk from his duty, for which he was dismissed the service with infamy. The three other ships, notwithstanding, cast their anchors to the north-east, laid their broadsides against the Moro,

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and kept up a very brisk fire for near six hours ; but it was returned with great constancy. Upon this, Lord Albemarle, who was on board the Valiant, observing to Commodore Keppel, the little impression their fire made upon the Moro, on account of the extraordinary elevation they were under the necessity of giving their guns, and the Commodore agreeing with him in this observation, sent an officer to Captain Hervey with orders to bring off the ships ; which Captain Hervey did, covering with his own the retreat of the Cambridge, because she was much disabled. The other ships were also greatly damaged in their hulls, masts, yards, sails, and rigging ; and besides, the Dragon had sixteen men killed and thirty-seven wounded, during the cannonade ; the Cambridge twenty-four killed and ninety-five wounded ; and the Marlborough two killed and eight wounded.

Captain Goofetree of the Cambridge, a brave and experienced officer, was among the killed. Captains Hervey and Burnet, with better fortune, gained equal honour, by their firm and intrepid behaviour throughout the whole affair. Nor was the gallantry of Captain Lindsay less entitled to notice ; he gave the most signal proof of it by his activity in getting on board the Cambridge, and fighting her after the death of Captain Goofetree.

This desperate attempt, though it had no effect whatever upon the works on that side of the fort which the ships attacked, was nevertheless of considerable service. The attention of the Spaniards being diverted to that side, the English, from their batteries, poured in a dreadful fire, which did considerable damage to the defences of the fort. But the moment the Spaniards were released from their attention to the English men of war,

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war, they revived their fire against the batteries with their former vigilance. On the other hand, though this cannonade against the Moro had not its desired effect, the disappointment did not abate the Admiral's zeal to second the operations of the General: And accordingly, he immediately ordered five hundred seamen on shore to assist in drawing the cannon up to the batteries, and in every other business, in which those intrepid fellows could be of any use. This enterprize was succeeded by a constant discharge of artillery, which was kept up on both sides, with a fierce emulation. It now became evident, that the reduction of this fortress was to be a work of time. Never, from the beginning of the war, had the valour of the English been so well matched. They had now an adversary worthy of their arms; and their whole military skill and spirit was put to the severest trial. The utmost good that could be expected from the cannon, where now planted, was the destruction of the merlons of the fort; it was impossible for the batteries hitherto erected, to injure the rampart below the cordon, this part of it being too well covered by the crest of the glacis, to receive any injury from them. All the cannon of the whole fleet would not, in this situation, have effected a practicable breach. As to the ditch, the chief engineer was yet totally in the dark with regard to the state of it. A continued superiority of fire on the part of the English kept their spirits elevated: But on the 2d of July, an accident happened of too much consequence not to make a visible alteration in them; their grand battery took fire. No rain having fallen for the last fourteen days, the intense heat and unremitting cannonade had dried the fascines to such a degree, that the utmost efforts could not prevent the flames from spreading: The conflagration continued with such violence,

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lence, as to insinuate itself where neither water could follow to extinguish, or earth to stifle it. The battery was almost wholly consumed. The labour of six hundred men for seventeen days, was almost destroyed in a few hours: But two embrasures, and these too with the utmost difficulty, were preserved. The business, indeed, done by this battery before its destruction, was some comfort for the loss of it. The Spaniards had two guns only left on the polygon of the attack; all the rest were demolished. To compensate the want of them, they now placed some men upon their ramparts, and kept a hot fire upon the English, who, by cutting down the coppice wood, to unmask their batteries, found themselves without any cover for the purpose of repairing that which had been burned. But what was still more mortifying, they had no materials for that work.

This stroke was felt the more severely, as the other hardships of the siege were become, by this time, almost insupportable: Sickness and severe labour had reduced the army to almost half its number. Five thousand soldiers, and three thousand seamen were laid up with various distempers. A want of fresh provisions exasperated the evil, and retarded their recovery. The deficiency of water was, of all their grievances, the most intolerable, and extremely aggravated all the rest of their sufferings. The great distance they were obliged to go to procure a scanty supply of water, was alone sufficient to exhaust all their strength; but joined to the anguish of a dreadful thirst, put an end to their wretched existence.

In the midst, however, of these cruel distresses, the steadiness of the commanders infused life and activity into the troops, and roused them to incredible exertions. New batteries rose in the

the place of that which had been almost destroyed. The fire of the English grew apace to be equal, if not superior, to that of the Spaniards, till, on the 11th, in the afternoon, the merlons, with some additions which had been made to the grand battery, again took fire, and the whole was irreparably consumed. Sir James Douglas arriving, just at this time, with the fleet from Jamaica, Lord Albemarle, merely to satisfy the soldiers, ordered a quantity of cotton on board it to be purchased, in order to stuff the gabions designed to be used in advancing the approaches. A much more useful fleet was expected from North-America, with a reinforcement of men and stores; and accordingly, a thousand impatient and languishing looks were cast out for it; but all in vain; not one ship of it yet appeared. Notwithstanding, such was the spirit of the men, and the ardour of the officers, that twenty guns were mounted by the 16th: But in order to account for the rapid erection of these works, we must inform the reader, that all the artillery, ammunition, and stores, being ready on shore, were now carried by a reinforcement of fifteen hundred negroes, which had arrived from Jamaica, whose legislature behaved, on this occasion, in a manner that does them infinite honour. Though the ordinary price of labour there was fifteen pence sterling a-day, these negroes were furnished, for the use of government, at the moderate rate of five pence sterling. The order for raising a certain number of armed negroes was not fully complied with, owing to a misunderstanding between some leading people in the island and the Governor; it took place with regard to one company only.

The guns newly erected by the besiegers were so well served, that those of the besieged were reduced to five or six; and the
merlons

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merlons of the front attacked, appeared entirely destroyed, though the latter exerted their utmost efforts to repair, in the night, the injuries of the day, by constructing new merlons made with logs of cedar, which they covered with nets of thick ropes, in order to secure themselves from the splinters.

The strength of the English army diminished daily, though it was supported as much as possible by the Admiral and the Commodore, who now landed five hundred more seamen to erect a battery, on which they were to serve their own guns. The greatest part of those who remained on board the men of war were employed in making junks, blinds, and mantelets; and the 4th regiment, in preparing the gabions that would be wanted to carry on a sap. On the 19th, all the merlons of the Moro being entirely ruined, Lord Albemarle ordered a *Boyan* to be immediately constructed all along the sea-shore, protected by gabions filled with cotton, for want of other materials; and a lodgment was made on the glacis. This favourable event gave double life to the operations of the English; but it was somewhat damped by a full discovery of what their fears had hitherto made them barely suspect, a new and almost insurmountable difficulty. This was the extraordinary breadth and depth of the ditch, the dimensions of which deserve, on that account, to be particularly mentioned. They were as follows:

			Feet.
Facing the sea-bastion, it was,	Depth,	-	63 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Breadth at bottom,		43
	Breadth at top,	-	56

Facing

Facing the center of the courtine,	Depth,	-	56 ¹ / ₂
	Breadth at bottom,		43
	Breadth at top,	-	105
Facing the land-bastion,	Depth,	-	45
	Breadth at bottom,		35
	Breadth at top,	-	43 ¹ / ₂

To fill up such a gulph in any expeditious way, appeared utterly impossible, though many romantic proposals were offered for that purpose. Difficult as the work of mining is in a solid rock, it was the only expedient that could be employed on the occasion; and it might have proved impossible even to set about it, if fortunately for the besiegers, a thin ridge of rock had not been left to prevent the sea from beating into the ditch. Favoured by this ridge, the English miners got over, with some difficulty, on the 20th, to the foot of the wall of the Moro; a thing impracticable in every other place, and made their way into the body of the bastion. In the afternoon, a shaft was begun to be sunk without the covered way, for another mine to throw the counterscarp into the ditch, in order to fill it up, if possible, should there be a necessity for so doing. The sap was likewise continued along the glacis, and a gun planted in the saliant angle of the covered way.

It now became visible to the Governor of the Havanna, that, unless something was immediately done for the relief of the Moro, it must speedily be reduced. He therefore made every preparation for a strong fortie, and every encouragement was offered to the country militia, mulattoes, and negroes, that could operate on bigotted minds; such as prayers, bulls, pardons, and absolutions. The circumstances of the Spaniards were now become desperate; and in this one exertion of their

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whole strength, all their hopes were centered. To raise the siege by one decisive blow was now their sole aim, as it was their only resource.

The English, uninformed of the impending danger, continued their subterraneous labours, which were much impeded by the obstruction of very large stones. However, by two in the morning of the 22d of July, their miners had penetrated about eighteen feet under the face of the bastion of the Moro that was opposite to their right. Their sap too was, in some degree formed before this face, and part of the courtine near the palisades, where the engineers, fearing it should be taken in flank from the town, had directed it should turn off from the glacis, and be carried along the height, from whence the ground, or rather the bare rock, slopes to the sea on one side, and to the harbour on the other. Colonel Carleton, Brigadier General of the day, disapproved this deviation from the glacis, on which alone there was sufficient earth to carry the work on: But even with this advantage, the work could not but prove both difficult and tedious, lying, as it would, in open view of the batteries in the town, and those of the ships in the harbour; for it would certainly draw the fire of the Spaniards from these places, as it extended from their batteries to the glacis, and which was their only communication: Brigadier Carleton, therefore, sent for Captain Dixon, the engineer of the night, and taking him along the palisades to the left, pointed out that spot to him as alone proper for that purpose, since there the sap might be carried on with ease and safety; and when made, would command the entrance of the ditch and front attacked. This new plan being approved by Captain Dixon, the workmen were ordered to conform to it.

The appearance of the atmosphere foretelling the approach of day, a serjeant and twelve men were detached to look into the spur which inclined from the Moro towards the sea, but something lower than the level of the rampart from whence it ran out. Their orders were to make no noise, and to observe well that work, the nature of its communication with the body of the fort, and, if possible, the state of the garrison. Accordingly, after getting over the narrow slip of the rock which led to the entrance of the mine, they descended a ladder placed in a confined notch of the rock, to the edge and level of the sea; from thence they mounted a longer ladder, and endeavoured to get to the top of the parapet. These ladders had been placed the night before by two engineers, who reported, that they had been discovered, and that large stones had been thrown down upon them. But to return to our adventurers; the third man had scarcely reached the top of the ladder, when about twelve Spaniards, who were lying close on their faces, started up and gave the alarm. On this the serjeant returned immediately; but he was sent back again to obey his orders more fully. In this second attempt he was soon fired at from the Moro, but received no injury. The firing now extended all round the ramparts of the Moro, and even to the side of the harbour; which proved, that the numbers within were much greater than those without generally believed. The alarm bell rang in the Moro; the reveillé was beat by all the drummers in the town, though the day was but faintly broke on the horizon. The distant posts of the English caught the alarm; yet even those on the glacis could see no cause for all this trepidation, though something very serious, it might be thence inferred, was on the point of execution. Soon after, they heard two or three shots towards their left; and quickly after, a close

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and heavy report of musketry, which appeared big with danger from the first instant of its becoming sensible. This report proceeded from the firing made by a body of twenty-five hundred Spaniards, who had crossed the harbour without being perceived on account of the darkness of the night, and the profound silence which they observed. But though the darkness of the night and their profound silence might have concealed their landing, it would have been impossible for them to have advanced undiscovered, if, agreeable to the orders given by Brigadier Carleton at Stuart's post; a detachment had been made, every half hour, during the whole night, to patrol between that post and the water's edge. The neglect of this necessary precaution afforded the Spaniards an opportunity of taking post, and concealing themselves amongst the shrubs at the foot of the hill till the dawn of day, when the tolling of the morning bells was to have been their signal of attack. But it was, fortunately for the besiegers, precipitated by the alarm given from the Moro.

The firing from this detachment of the Spaniards continuing with great vehemence, the English, who were at work in repairing their batteries, threw down their tools and ran to their arms. Dixon's battery, and another two hundred yards behind it, called Williams's, were first exposed, as being nearest to the harbour. These batteries were each covered by a party of about thirty men, advanced still nearer the harbour into the wood, with about two hundred yards of cleared ground close to the glacis and the side of the harbour between them. Lieutenant Henry, of the thirty-fourth, commanded the party near Dixon's, which was posted in a stone-quarry, as in a kind of covered way. Lieutenant Colonel Stuart, of the ninetieth, com-

manded the other; and his men were placed behind some fascines, which had been thrown there for other purposes, and an abbattis of a sort of prickly West-India shrub, called by botanists the Prickly Pear, or Ficoides, ran before them just out of the wood. A small party of twenty-five men was now ordered into the wood, to occupy the intermediate space between these two posts. The guards in the nearest batteries were also small; but one hundred and fifty men, under the command of Major Farmer, of the thirty-fourth, were posted in the battery that had been burned about one hundred yards from Dixon's; his men, however, were under arms before the alarm, and he marched one hundred of them off without delay to support the two first mentioned posts, conformable to the orders he had received a few hours before from Brigadier Carleton, and the Brigadier passing by immediately after, took the remaining fifty; and in a short time was joined by the royal, which had been encamped near the batteries, under a rock, with a view of supporting the advanced guards in case of a sortie, and now came up full speed for that purpose. Upon this, Brigadier Carleton sent back the fifty men of Major Farmer's he had taken with him, as the fire of the Spaniards increased from one moment to another, and extended towards the sap, which the burned battery in some measure protected. The royal were led directly to Stuart's post, where, meeting with Major Farmer, Brigadier Carleton ordered him to follow that corps; and then conducted the whole close to the left of that post; from whence, after clearing the woods, and turning short to the right, in order to gain the flank of the Spaniards, he marched in file directly to a rock, which, sloping gently to the land, covered the English from the floating batteries of the Spaniards, as well as those of the town, but to the harbour terminated.

terminated in a precipice: Such is the ground back to the Spanish redoubt; but advancing to the Moro, it slopes down to the harbour, so as to afford an easy ascent, and is exposed to the full fire of the Spaniards. It was here the Spaniards landed, ascended the heights, and began their attack on the English, with a view of dislodging them from some of their batteries; in which case, they were to have been supported by the remainder of the Spanish troops, who were under arms ready to cross the harbour. The English received them with their usual steadiness, and had two or three men wounded by the first fire they received at Stuart's post; but Henry's being taken at once in front and flank, they had seven men killed. The Spaniards then made an attempt on the sap of the English; but timid, as well as ignorant of the situation of their enemy, they shrunk aside from a galling fire given them by the royal, which lasted about ten or fifteen minutes, if, in such circumstances, the length of time may be guessed at. The Spaniards, not knowing the real force and situation of the English, did not, at first, dispose of their numbers to the greatest advantage; and, being taken in flank by the parties of the royal and Farmer's, they were soon driven down the hill in confusion. The foremost of the runaways, seizing on their boats, immediately put off; those left behind shifted from place to place, calling to their friends on the other side, like people in despair. The faintness of the light being no small advantage to troops whose strength did not consist in numbers; the whole force of the English was now ordered to advance. The royal, Major Farmer's corps, and the parties which had been posted in the intermediate space between Stuart's and Henry's posts, pushed forward, forming a curved line of one single rank upon the top of the heights, from which their shot, centering on the fugitives,

fugitives, galled them exceedingly, whilst the fire in return, from the confused situation of those who made it, proved very desultory and unequal. But notwithstanding this advantage, Brigadier Carleton judged it prudent to draw off his troops, as they had insensibly descended the hill more than half way; and therefore, as the light became stronger, must, if they continued in their present situation, be exposed to the floating batteries, with those of the Punta fort and north bastion; all which were the more formidable, as his men were within the reach of grape shot from them. The Brigadier afterwards passing by Stuart's post, ordered that officer to repeat his orders, and hasten the retreat of the troops that had descended the hill, where a brisk fire was still kept up. Then, having informed himself that all was well at Dixon's, he returned to these troops, and by urging the men to be expeditious in their retreat, he fortunately got them off the heights before a single cannon was discharged against them. They had scarce, however, gained the top of the hill, when they perceived, almost within musket-shot, a party of Spaniards which had, by some negligence, been permitted to pass the Spanish redoubt to the assistance of their friends below, though too late to give them any assistance. Brigadier Carleton being now wounded by a musket-shot that broke his arm, Major Farmer took the command, attacked and soon drove the Spaniards to the place from whence they came. Then, posting his men near the edge of the precipice, he gave them an opportunity of firing down, with entire safety to themselves, into the boats. The whole English camp being by this time sufficiently acquainted with the nature of their danger, Major General Keppel ordered the brigades on the left, to the Spanish redoubt, and those on the right, to the batteries, and marched himself, with the royal Americans,

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Americans, to the right of the English batteries, in order to pursue the fugitives; but most of them had already gained the opposite shore.

Thus ended this sortie of the Spaniards, with the loss of very few men to the English, if compared with that of the enemy; or if it be considered, that their all was at stake: But then, the worth of those who fell rendered that loss irreparable for the present.

A flag of truce was now hung out by the Spaniards, and a messenger soon after arrived from them, desiring permission to bury their dead, which amounted to four hundred and eighty-five; whereas those of the English did not exceed eighty-five. The limited time for this office being expired, the firing was renewed on both sides with the utmost vigour.

This was the last effort made by the city for the relief of the Moro, which yet held out with a fullen resolution, and made no sort of proposal to capitulate. However, the advantages gained by the English in this sally, gave them new hopes; and these hopes became more lively by the arrival, on the 27th of July, of part of the long expected reinforcement from North-America, under Brigadier Burton, which had sailed from New-York on the 11th of June. The Chesterfield, and four transports of the fleet which brought it, had the misfortune, on the 24th of July, to run on the *Cayo Comfiso*, at the entrance of the Bahama Straits, on the Cuba side, about an hour before day-light, and were stranded; but neither seamen nor soldiers were lost. This shews the necessity there was for the precautions taken by the Admiral, when he ventured into this dangerous channel.

But

But notwithstanding this reinforcement, the Earl of Albemarle was now obliged to contract the different out-posts, on account of the great sickness amongst the troops. He withdrew Lieutenant General Elliot, with the corps of observation under his command, from Guanamacoa, and posted him at the entrance of the wood above the River Coximer. He likewise drew in the posts under Colonel Howe at Chorera and St. Lazare; nothing of any moment having happened at either of the three places during the whole siege, except a few skirmishes, occasioned by the excursions of the light troops, and which always terminated to their advantage.

On the 29th of July, the excavation for the mines was ready to be loaded, and would have been loaded accordingly, and sprung, had not the Spaniards brought two floating batteries out of the harbour, and posted them in such a manner as rendered it impracticable, and made the besiegers defer springing them from the morning of the 30th, till near two o'clock in the afternoon, when the following dispositions for mounting the breach expected from the explosion were made: Three detachments of twelve men each, commanded by an officer, were to lead the attack; four companies of the Royal and Morgan's, with the sappers, making, in the whole, four hundred and thirty-one men, were to follow, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Stuart, of the ninetieth regiment; next Major General Keppel, with the first brigade; and the other brigades were in readiness to support him. The mines were now sprung. That in the counterscarp had no effect; but that in the bastion, having brought down a part of both faces, made a breach, but scarcely practicable for one man in front. The troops in the covered way, who had been ordered to withdraw for fear of injury from the flying rubbish,

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returned, immediately on its subsiding, to their posts, and made a continual firing upon the top of the breach, and the polygon of the attack; and though there was no getting even to the foot of this narrow breach, but by filing the men one by one, over the ridge of rock already mentioned, so fatal to the besieged, and to which, much as the besiegers were already obliged for its giving security to their miners, they were now to be infinitely more so for rendering the labours of these miners serviceable. Major General Keppel, relying on the experience and bravery of his troops, lost not a single moment in making the assault. He instantly gave them orders to mount; and Lieutenant Charles Forbes, with the utmost alacrity and resolution, led them on. They formed very expeditiously on the top of the breach, and with such a happy combination of spirit and coolness, that the Spaniards, who were drawn up to receive them, and who might have made the assault an affair of great bloodshed, astonished at their countenance, fled on every side, making but one stand behind a small traverse thrown up in one of the bastions; and this was only whilst they discharged their ready loaded arms. They then took to flight again, leaving the English in full possession of the Moro.

In this assault, the English lost two lieutenants, with twelve rank and file killed; and one lieutenant, with four serjeants, and twenty-three rank and file wounded. The loss of the Spaniards was, one hundred and thirty killed, thirty-seven wounded, three hundred and ten prisoners, and sixteen officers, all on shore; besides two hundred and thirteen drowned or killed in the boats; making, in the whole, seven hundred and six men.

Don Louis de Velasco, the Governor, whose spirited conduct had occasioned so many toilsome hours to the English, and the
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loss of so many lives, was mortally wounded ; yet their noble generosity dropped a tear of pity over his unfortunate valour. In consequence of a flag of truce, he was removed from the Moro to the Havanna, where he died the next day, regretted by his friends, and lamented even by his enemies. The second in command, the Marquis de Gonzales, fell whilst he was making brave but ineffectual efforts to animate and rally his people.

When the Moro was stormed, the state of its garrison was as follows :

Commander-in-chief, Don Louis de Velasco.

Second in command, Marquis de Gonzales.

Fort-major, Don Manuel de Cordova.

Second Major, Don Lorenzo de Milla.

Fort-adjutant, Don Pedro Menditta.

Second Adjutant, Don Francisco de la Palma.

Engineer, Don Antonio Frebofo.

Regular troops, six captains, five lieutenants, six second ditto, two hundred and eighty serjeants, corporals, drums, and private men.

Officers of the marine and seamen: two captains, two lieutenants, three hundred mariners, two officers of the works, two negroe officers, and ninety-four negroes.

The struggle for this fortress continued forty-four days, from the commencement of the first operations against it ; and now no time was lost by the conquerors to improve this their so great advantage. The command of the Moro was given to Lieutenant Colonel Dalling, and the strength of it turned against its late masters.

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Though the sickness in the English army still raged like a pestilence, yet many new and great works were to be undertaken before any reasonable hope could be formed of a final period to their labours, by gaining the city; therefore, Lord Albemarle, on the 31st of July, repaired to the west-side of the town, to reconnoitre the ground, and thereupon regulate his operations, should it be found necessary to form an attack on that side. On the 2d of August, the second division of the troops, expected from North-America, arrived, except three hundred and fifty-five men, in five transports, which were picked out of the convoy by a squadron of French men of war, on the 21st of July, near the passage between Niaya-Guanoa and the North-Caicos. In the mean time, the Spaniards fired with great fury against the Moro, pointing their guns chiefly at that part of the work which contained the cisterns, in hopes of letting out the water. On the east-side, General Keppel proceeded to erect some batteries on the Cavannos, which were ordered by Lord Albemarle; these were to be raised by the joint labour of the first and third brigades and the seamen, and to consist of forty-five pieces of cannon. His orders were so well obeyed, that these batteries were ready by the 10th, when Lord Albemarle, being prepared to break ground on the west-side of the town, about ten in the morning of that day, sent, by an aid de camp, with a flag of truce, a summons to the Governor to surrender on capitulation, and the following letter:

Head-quarters on the Island of Cuba, August 9th, 1762.

SIR,

“ My dispositions for the reduction of the Havanna are made. Motives of humanity induce me to acquaint your Excellency therewith, that you may have an opportunity of making your proposals

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proposals to surrender the Havanna to his Britannic Majesty, and thereby prevent the fatal calamities which always attend the storming of a town.

“ No one can be more averse to the shedding of blood than I am : to prevent it as much as in my power, I desire your Excellency to consider, that, however my disposition may incline to humanity, it may not be possible to extend its influence to the preservation of your troops in a manner they so recently experienced at the reduction of the Moro, where the same generous principle in the British troops restrained them from acts of cruelty, when the custom of war would have authorised and justified their putting to the sword the garrison of a fortress taken by storm.

“ I am master of the Cavannos and the Moro, which your Excellency, in a letter to Don Louis de Velasco, acknowledges to be the key to the Havanna. Add to this advantage, that of possessing the port of Mariel, where the Admiral can anchor with all his fleet, should the weather induce him to quit his present station ; and I have a considerable army on this side of the town, which grows stronger by daily reinforcements.

“ The officer entrusted with this letter is one of my aids de camp. His orders are to wait for your Excellency's answer.

“ Should your Excellency want passports or escorts for the ladies who are at present in the town, I shall most readily send them to you, being very desirous to shew you, upon all occasions, how truly I am, Your Excellency's, &c. &c. &c.

ALBEMARLE.”

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To this letter, the Governor, after keeping the bearer till between three and four in the afternoon, returned the following answer, with the express verbal declaration, that he would defend the town to the last extremity.

MY LORD,

Havanna, August 10th, 1762.

“ I cannot agree to the proposal your Excellency makes in your letter of this day, because the town, from its construction and its present condition, is such, as will admit of a long defence, and even affords me hopes of preventing your success. In this my constant care and endeavours, as well as my most earnest wishes, center ; nor do they admit of any diminution by the letter to Don Louis de Velasco, on which your Excellency lays such stress ; the only aim of that letter being, to make him sensible of the importance of the post he commanded, as it, no doubt, contributed to the defence and security of the body of the place.

“ I am very thankful for your Excellency's offer of passports for the ladies in the town.

“ I remain perfectly well disposed to oblige your Excellency, and pray to God to preserve you in health many years.

“ My Lord, I kiss your Excellency's hand, and remain your most attentive and assured servant,

JUAN DE PRADO.”

On the receipt of this letter, it was determined, that the next morning should convince the Governor that the menaces employed against him were not an empty boast. The batteries, which consisted of forty-five pieces of cannon and eight mortars,

tars, were opened at day-break, by the signal of a rocket. Their advantageous position alone rendered their fire truly formidable; but it was, besides, poured in on all sides with such continued and irresistible fury, that the Punta was silenced between nine and ten o'clock; and the north bastion, in a great measure, about an hour after, its firing being reduced to now and then a shot or two. At length, about three o'clock, flags of truce were hung out all round the town, and on board the Admiral's ship; and one, soon after, arrived at the English headquarters, with the town-major and an interpreter. Upon this, Sir George Pococke was immediately sent to, and a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon till the 12th at noon. During this time, there arose some disputes between the different commanding officers with regard to the capitulation; but they were at last settled; and on the 12th, the articles were signed and sealed. On the 14th, about noon, General Keppel's corps, the General being at that time very ill himself, took possession of the Punta-gate and bastion, and Brigadier Howe of the land-gate; the English colours were hoisted on both, and Captain Duncan likewise took possession of the men of war in the harbour, the Spaniards having evacuated them in consequence of the capitulation, which was as follows:

Articles of Capitulation agreed upon between Sir George Pococke, Knight of the Bath, and the Earl of Albemarle; and the Marquis del Real Transporte, Commander-in-chief of the Squadron of his Catholic Majesty, and Don Juan de Prado, Governor of the Havanna; for the surrender of the city and all its dependencies, with all the Spanish ships in the harbour.

PRELIMINARY ARTICLE. Fort-la-Punta, and the land-gate, shall be delivered to his Britannic Majesty's troops to-morrow morning,

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morning, the 13th August, at twelve o'clock; at which time it is expected the following articles of capitulation shall be signed and ratified.

- I. The garrison, consisting of the infantry, artillery-men, and dragoons, the different militia of the towns in this island, shall march out of the land-gate the 20th instant, provided in that time no relief arrives, so as to raise the siege, with all the military honours, arms shouldered, drums beating, colours flying, six field-pieces, with twelve rounds each, and as many rounds to each soldier. The regiments shall take out with them their military chests; and the Governor shall have six covered waggons, which are not to be examined upon any pretence whatever.

Answer. The garrison, consisting of the regular troops, the dragoons dismounted, (leaving their horses for his Britannic Majesty's service) in consideration of the gallant defence of the Moro fort and the Havanna, shall march out of the Punta-gate, with two pieces of cannon, and six rounds for each gun, and the same number for each soldier, drums beating, colours flying, and all the honours of war. The military chest refused. The Governor will be allowed as many boats as are necessary to transport his baggage and effects on board the ship destined for him. The militia without the town, as well as those within, to deliver up their arms to the British commissary appointed to receive them.

- II. That the garrison shall be allowed to take out of this city all their effects, and transport themselves with them to another part of the island; for which purpose there shall be allowed and permitted to come freely into the said city, all the beasts of burthen and carts: And this article is to extend
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to, and include, all other officers belonging to his Majesty employed in the administration of justice, the intendant of marine, the commissary of war, and the treasurer-general, who are to have the choice of going out of the city.

Answer. The officers of the above garrison will be allowed to carry with them all their private effects and money, on board the ships which will be provided at the expence of his Britannic Majesty, to transport the garrison to the nearest part of Old Spain. The intendant of marine, commissary of war, and those employed in the management of his Catholic Majesty's revenues, as soon as they have delivered over their accounts, shall have liberty to leave the island, if they desire it.

III. That the marines, and the ships crews in this harbour, who have served on shore, shall obtain, on their going out, the same honours as the garrison of the city, and shall proceed with those honours on board the said ships, that they may, together with their Commander-in-Chief, Don Guitieres de Heveia, Marquis del Real Transporte, sail in their said ships, as soon as the port is open, with all their effects and money, in order to proceed to some other port belonging to the dominions of Spain; in doing which, they will oblige themselves, that, during their navigation to their designed port, they will not attack any squadron or single ship belonging to his Britannic Majesty or his allies, nor any merchant vessels belonging to his subjects: On the other hand, they are not to be attacked by any squadron or single ship belonging to his Britannic Majesty, or any of his allies. Likewise, liberty shall be given to go on board the said ships, to the aforementioned troops and ships crews, with their officers,

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and others belonging to them, together with the effects and monies that are in the city, belonging to his Catholic Majesty, with the equipages and effects in specie of gold or silver, belonging to the said Marquis, and others employed in the different marine offices; granting them likewise every thing that shall be necessary to protect them and their ships, as well as in the fitting them out from his Catholic Majesty's stores, and whatever more may be wanted, at the current prices of the country.

Answer. The Marquis del Real Transporte, with his officers, sailors, and marines, as making part of the garrison, shall be treated in every respect as the Governor and regular troops. All ships in the harbour of the Havanna, and all money and effects whatever, belonging to his Catholic Majesty, shall be delivered up to such persons as shall be appointed by Sir George Pococke and the Earl of Albemarle.

IV. That all the artillery, stores, ammunition, and provisions, belonging to his Catholic Majesty, except such as are well known to belong to the squadron, an exact inventory shall be made thereof, by the assistance of four persons, subjects of the King of Spain, which the Governor shall appoint, and by four others, subjects to his Britannic Majesty, who are to be chosen by his Excellency the Earl of Albemarle, who shall keep possession till both sovereigns come to another determination.

Answer. All the artillery, and all kinds of arms, ammunition, and naval stores, without reserve, shall be delivered to such persons as shall be appointed to receive them by Sir George Pococke and the Earl of Albemarle.

V. That as by mere accident, his Excellency the Count de Superunda, Lieutenant General of his Catholic Majesty's forces, and late Viceroy of Peru, and Don Diego Tavares, Major General of his Majesty's forces, and late Governor of Carthagená, are both here in their return to Spain; these gentlemen and their families shall be comprehended in this capitulation, allowing them to possess their equipages, and other effects belonging to them, and to grant them vessels to transport them to Spain.

Answer. The Count Superunda, Lieutenant General of his Catholic Majesty's forces, and late Viceroy of the kingdom of Peru, and Don Diego Tavares, knight of the order of St. James, Major General, and late Governor of Carthagená, shall be conveyed to Old Spain in the most commodious ships that can be provided, suitable to the rank, dignity, and character of those noble persons, with all their effects, money, and attendants, at such time as may be most convenient to themselves.

VI. That the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion shall be maintained and preserved, in the same manner and form as it has hitherto been in all the dominions belonging to his Catholic Majesty, without putting the least restraint to any of their public worships; and the different orders, universities, and colleges, shall remain in the full enjoyment of all their rights, in the same manner as they have hitherto enjoyed.

GRANTED.

VII. That the bishop of Cuba is to enjoy all the privileges and prerogatives that as such belong to him, with the nomination of curates, and other ecclesiastical ministers, with the annexed jurisdiction over them, as he has had hitherto, with

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the freedom to receive all the rents and revenues within his bishoprick; which privileges shall extend, likewise, to all other ecclesiastics in those shares belonging to them.

GRANTED; with a reserve, that in the appointment of priests, and other ecclesiastical officers, it shall be with the approbation of the British Governor.

VIII. That within the monasteries of religious men and women, shall be observed and kept the same interior government as hitherto, without any novelty or variation.

GRANTED.

IX. That in the same manner as the effects and monies in this city, belonging to his Catholic Majesty, are to be shipped on board of the Squadron in this harbour, to transport the same to Spain, so shall all the tobacco, which likewise belongs to his Catholic Majesty; and it shall be permitted, even in time of war, to his Catholic Majesty, to purchase tobacco on the said island, in the district subject to the King of Great Britain, at the established prices, and the free exportation of the same to Spain in Spanish or foreign vessels, and for which purpose, and receiving, and keeping, and curing the same, shall be kept and possessed the ware-houses, with all other buildings which are destined for that purpose; and likewise shall be allowed and maintained here, all such officers as shall be necessary to manage the same.

REFUSED.

X. That in consideration that this port is situated by nature for the relief of those who navigate in those parts of Spanish and British America, that this port shall be reputed and allowed

lowed to be neutral to the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, who are to be admitted in and out freely, to take in such refreshments as they may be in need of, as well as repairing their vessels, paying the current prices for every thing, and that they are not to be insulted or interrupted in their navigation, by any vessels belonging to his Britannic Majesty, or his subjects or allies, from the *Capes Catoche*, on the coast of Campeche, and that of *St. Antonio* to the westward of this island; nor from the Tortuga-bank to this port, and from here till they get into the latitude of thirty-three degrees north, till both their Majesties agree to the contrary.

REFUSED.

XI. That all the inhabitants, Europeans, and Creoles in this city, shall be left in the free possession and management of all their offices and employments, which they have by purchase, as well as of their estates, and all other effects whatever, without being obliged to account on any other terms than those on which they did to his Catholic Majesty.

GRANTED; and they shall be allowed to continue in their offices of property as long as they conduct themselves properly.

XII. That the said offices shall preserve and keep the rights and privileges which they have hitherto enjoyed, and they shall be governed in his Britannic Majesty's name, under the same laws and administration of justice, and under such conditions as they have done hitherto in the dominion of Spain, in every particular, appointing their judges and officers of justice, agreeable to their usual custom.

GRANTED.

XIII.

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XIII. That to any of the aforesaid inhabitants of this city, who should not chuse to stay, it shall be permitted them to take out their property and riches in such specie as should be most convenient to them, and to dispose of their estates, or to leave them under the administration of others, and to transport themselves with them, to such of his Catholic Majesty's dominions as they shall chuse, granting them four years to execute the same, and vessels to transport them, either upon purchase or on freight, with the necessary passports, and authority to bear arms against the Moors and Turks, upon this express condition, that they shall not use them against his Britannic Majesty's subjects or his allies; and that this and the two foregoing articles are to comprehend and admit to be included all his Catholic Majesty's ministers and officers, as well civil as marine and military, who are married and established with families and estates in this city, in order that they may obtain the same privileges as the other inhabitants.

Answer. The inhabitants will be allowed to dispose of, and remove their effects to any part of the king of Spain's dominions in vessels at their own expence, for which they will have proper passports. It is understood, that such officers as have property in this island, shall be allowed the same indulgence as to the rest of the inhabitants.

XIV. That to these people no ill consequence shall arise on account of having taken up arms, owing to their fidelity, and their being enlisted in the militia, on account of the necessity of war; neither shall the English troops be permitted to plunder; but, on the contrary, they shall completely

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enjoy their rights and prerogatives as other subjects of his Britannic Majesty, allowing them to return without the least hindrance or impediment from the country into the city, with all their families, equipages and effects, as they went out of the city on account of this invasion, and who are to be comprehended in the present articles; and that neither of them shall be incommoded with having troops quartered in their houses, but that they shall be lodged in particular quarters, as it has been practised during the Spanish government.

GRANTED; except that in cases of necessity, quartering the troops must be left to the direction of the governor. All the King's slaves are to be delivered up to the persons appointed to receive them.

XV. That the effects detained in this city, belonging to the merchants at Cadiz, which have arrived here in the different register ships, and in which are interested all the European nations, a sufficient passport shall be granted to the supercargoes thereof, that they may freely remit the same with the register ships, without running the risk of being insulted in their passage.

REFUSED.

XVI. That those civil, or other officers, who have had charge of the management of the administration and distribution of the royal treasure, or any other affair of a peculiar nature from his Catholic Majesty, are to be left with the free use of all those papers which concern the discharge of their duty, with free liberty to carry them to Spain for that purpose; and the same shall be understood with the managers of the royal company established in this city.

Answer.

Answer. All public papers to be delivered to the secretaries of the Admiral and General for inspection, which will be returned to his Catholic Majesty's officers, if not found necessary for the government of the island.

XVII. That the public records are to remain in custody of those officers who possess them, without permitting any of the papers to be taken away, for fear of their being mislaid.

ANSWERED in the foregoing article.

XVIII. That the officers and soldiers who are sick in the hospital, shall be treated in the same manner as the garrison; and after their recovery, they shall be granted horses or vessels to transport themselves where the rest of the garrison goes, with every thing necessary for their security and subsistence during their voyage; and before which they shall be provided with such provisions and medicines as shall be demanded by the hospital keepers, and surgeons thereof, and all others under them, who are included in this capitulation, are to stay or go as they shall prefer.

GRANTED; the Governor leaving proper commissaries to furnish them with provisions, surgeons, medicines, and necessaries, at the expence of his Catholic Majesty, while they remain in the hospital.

XIX. That all the prisoners made on both sides, since the 6th of June, when the English squadron appeared before this harbour, shall be returned reciprocally, and without any ransom, within the term of two months, for those who were sent away from the city to other towns in this island, which

was

was done for want of proper places of security here, or before, if they can arrive.

Answer. This article cannot be concluded upon till the British prisoners are delivered up.

XX. That as soon as the articles of this capitulation are agreed upon, and hostages given on each side for the performance thereof, the land-gate shall be delivered into the possession of his Britannic Majesty's troops, that they may post a guard there; and the garrison shall have one themselves, until the place is evacuated, when the Earl of Albemarle will be pleased to send some soldiers as a safeguard to the churches, convents, and treasuries, and all other places of consequence.

Answer. The number of safeguards required for the security of the churches, convents, and other places shall be granted; the rest of the article is answered in the preliminary article.

XXI. That it shall be allowed to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of this Squadron, to dispatch a packet-boat with advice to his Catholic Majesty, as well as to other people who have a right to the same advice, to which vessel there shall be granted a safe and secure passport for the voyage.

Answer. As the troops are to be sent to Old Spain, a packet is unnecessary.

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XXII. That the troops of the Punta-castle shall have the same honours as the garrison of the town, and that they shall march out by one of the most practicable breaches.

GRANTED.

XXIII. That the capitulation is to be understood literally, and without any interpretation on any pretext whatever, of making reprisals, on account of not having complied with the foregoing.

GRANTED.

Head-quarters near the Havanna,

August 12th, 1762.

G. POCOCKE.

ALBEMARLE.

EL MARQUIS DEL REAL TRANSPORTE.

JUAN DE PRADO.

The garrison of the Havanna, which was to be conveyed to Old Spain in his Britannic Majesty's vessels, consisted of the following field and staff officers: Three colonels, two lieutenant colonels, two serjeant majors, four aids de camp, four chaplains, three surgeons. The other officers and private men, exclusive of the prisoners on board the English men of war, and the sick and wounded left in the town, were, seventeen captains, fifty-six subalterns, thirty-eight serjeants, twenty-nine

nine drummers, seven hundred and seventy-eight rank and file; in all, nine hundred and thirty-six.

1/62.

The ships of war, surrendered by the capitulation, were,

El Tigre, - of 70 guns, commanded by the Marquis del
Real Transporte, Admiral and
Commander-in-Chief.

L'America,	-	60	Don Juan Antonio.	
El Infanta,	-	70	Don Francisco de Medina.	
El Soverano,	-	70	Don Juan de Postego.	
La Reyna,	-	70	Don Louis de Velasco.	
El Aquilon,	-	70	El Marquis de Gonzales.	
El Conquestador,	60		Don Pedro Castajon.	
El Santo Antonio,	60	}	Both newly launched and fitted out.	
El Santo Geniare,	60			
La Thetis,	-	18	}	Taken by the Alarm.
La Vanganza,	-	22		
El Marte,	-	18	Taken at Mariel by the Defiance.	
El Neptuno,	-	70	}	Sunk in the entrance of the harbour.
El Asia,	-	60		
La Europa,	-	60		
One of	-	80	}	On the stocks.
One of	-	60		

besides, one royal company's ship taken, one sunk, and a third burnt and blown up.

1762.

THUS did this conquest prove the heaviest blow, in itself, and in its consequences the most decisive, of any that had been given since the commencement of the present hostilities between so many great powers. In the acquisition of the Havanna were combined all the advantages that could be procured in war. It was a military victory of the first magnitude; it was equal to the greatest naval victory by its effects on the marine of the Spaniards, who lost on that occasion a whole fleet. The vast quantity of tobacco and sugar, collected at the Havanna on the Spanish monarch's account, sold on the spot, exclusive of the ships and merchandize sent to, and sold in England, for seven hundred thousand pounds, which was divided amongst the conquerors in the proportion settled for the division of the plunder on the expedition of Lord Cathcart and Admiral Vernon, if they had succeeded, when they went against Carthagená.

From their first landing to the 13th of August, this important conquest cost the English, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, including those who died, two thousand seven hundred and sixty-four men. History, perhaps, does not record a siege with such a variety of difficulties to retard the approaches, as what attended the assailants of the Moro-castle. Not only there was scarce a spit of earth near any of the intended batteries, as we have already taken notice; but the cutting down, binding up, and carrying the vast quantities of fascines, which it was necessary to substitute, proved a work of infinite labour; nay, the earth necessary to give stability and resistance to the fascines, was not to be obtained but by scratching it from between the crevices of
rocks,

rocks, at a great distance from the spot where it was to be used.

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Though a great part of the provisions brought from England had been spoiled by the heat of the climate, the most distressing circumstance of the campaign was the scarcity of water. Of the vast catalogue of human ills, thirst is the most intolerable. On this occasion, it soon caused the tongue to swell, extend itself without the lips, and become black as in a state of mortification; then the whole frame became a prey to the most excruciating agonies, till death at length intervened, and gave the unhappy sufferer relief. In this way, hundreds resigned themselves to eternity. A greater number fell victims to a putrid fever. From the appearance of perfect health, three or four short hours robbed them of existence. Many there were, who endured a loathsome disease for days, nay weeks together, living in a state of putrefaction, their bodies full of vermin, and almost eaten away before the spark of life was extinguished. The carrion crows of the country kept constantly hovering over the graves, which rather hid than buried the dead, and frequently scratched away the scanty earth, leaving in every mangled corpse a spectacle of unspeakable loathsomeness and terror to those, who, by being engaged in the same enterprise, were exposed to the same fate. Hundreds of carcases were seen floating on the ocean: Yet all these accumulated horrors damped not the ardour of the survivors. Used to conquest, and to brave every kind of danger, every one exerted himself with such a particular aim to victory, as if the whole enterprise depended on his single arm.

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Having said thus much in praise of the bravery and patience of the English, candour requires we should add, that the Spaniards were far from being deficient in point of valour; and had their conduct been equal, it is more than probable, that the English had never obtained the noblest wreath of victory, that ever graced the brow of a conqueror in this quarter of the world. But, perhaps, the reader will be curious to know how the principal officers among them were received and treated by their sovereign on their arrival in Old Spain.

Don Juan de Prado, Governor of the Havanna; Don Gutierrez de Heveia, Marquis del Real Transporte, the Admiral; Viscount Superunda, Lieutenant General of his Majesty's forces, and late Viceroy of Peru, and Don Diego Tavaréz, late Governor of Carthagena, being all tried by a council of war at Madrid for their behaviour on this occasion, were punished with sequestration of their estates, and banishment forty leagues from the court, during his Majesty's pleasure.

The sentence against Don Juan de Prado is in force. Don Gutierrez de Heveia was pardoned in consequence of the merit of his father-in-law, the Marquis de la Vitoria, Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish navy. Don Diego Tavaréz was not only pardoned, but since promoted to the command of the Spanish lines at St. Roque, the barrier against Gibraltar, which he still holds. Viscount Superunda was offered a pardon; but refused it, declaring he could not accuse himself of any crime. He is since dead.

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As to Don Louis de Velasco, his family was ennobled; his eldest son created Viscount Moro, and a standing order made, that ever after, there should be a ship in the Spanish navy called the Velasco.

But to return to the Havanna; the first care of the Earl of Albemarle, on being put in possession of the place, was to see the articles of the capitulation punctually performed on both sides; restore order amongst the inhabitants; issue such orders for their conduct, and that of their conquerors, as might effectually prevent all disputes between them; particularly the lower classes, and the soldiers and sailors; to receive the town-records; the accounts of the stores civil and military; the treasures; the merchandise; every thing, in short, which his high station and late success gave him a right to take cognizance of.

The Spanish troops were then embarked, agreeable to the capitulation, for Old Spain. Admiral Sir George Pococke ordered the Sutherland and the Dover to be fitted up as flags of truce, to accommodate the Governor of the Havanna, the Spanish Admiral, the Viceroy of Peru, and the Governor of Carthagena; the garrison were put on board transports.

The Earl of Albemarle being expressly ordered, when the Havanna service should be over, to return the same number of troops to North-America that he might receive from thence, he embarked the fifth brigade for that continent; but most of them died in the passage, or in the hospitals, immediately on their arrival; and the artillery sent with them was entirely lost.

1762.

at sea. The troops which remained were not much more fortunate; being, by this time, so reduced by sickness, that even seven hundred could not be mustered in a condition to do duty. In this situation, the utmost vigilance was necessary to prevent quarrels between the conquerors and the conquered, and keep the latter in awe; especially, as some of the districts, which Don Juan de Prado thought to have included in the capitulation, refused to accede to it, as not being within the jurisdiction of the Governor of the Havanna.

If we have not given as minute a detail of the operations of this important siege, as that which was transmitted to the British ministers, signed by the chief Engineer; but which, we have the greatest reason to believe the General never saw, till he arrived in England, it is to avoid the confusion which every where occurs in that account: But though we have aimed at clearness in the relation of this glorious achievement, we hope we shall not be found to have omitted any circumstance which might in the least have contributed to the brilliant success of the English arms. After all, it will scarce be credited by future ages, that an army of Europeans persisted, for two months and eight days together, in the siege of a fortress situated in the hottest climate of the torrid zone, and during the hottest season of that climate. Be posterity therefore farther informed, that during the whole of this siege, there subsisted such a perfect harmony between the land and sea-services, with such an extraordinary degree of good-will in the inferior officers and common men, to execute the orders of their Admiral and General, that both owed their success to such patriotic endeavours.

Every

Every necessary disposition having been made by the Admiral and the General in their respective departments, Lord Albemarle conferred on the Honourable Major-General Keppel, the government of the town; and Sir George Pococke detached the Honourable Commodore Keppel, with a squadron on a cruize: Soon after the Admiral sailed for England, leaving Captain Knight of the Belle-isle, with three ships of the line, to command at the Havanna. About six weeks after, Lord Albemarle also sailed for England, where both the Admiral and the General arrived the beginning of the year 1763.

By the vigilance of Commodore Keppel, he took a whole fleet of merchantmen off St. François: The entire command of the ships in these seas, by the absence of Sir George Pococke, devolving on the Commodore, by virtue of the special commission we have already mentioned, and advice being received that a peace was concluded between England and Spain, he repaired to the Havanna, in order to superintend the embarkation of the troops ordered to Europe, after which he proceeded on the Jamaica station. The troops being at sea, were met by an express, ordering General Keppel to send some regiments to reinforce the army under Sir Jeffrey Amherst in North-America, on account of some commotions having arisen amongst the Indians on that continent.

With the troops that arrived from Old-Spain to garrison the Havanna, the orders came for the evacuation of that place in favour of the Spaniards: In consequence of these orders, without any directly from the British minister, the Spaniards retook possession of the most valuable harbour in the West-Indies.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LATE WAR IN AMERICA.

BOOK XI.

The French fit out a Squadron to attack Newfoundland:—Proceed on the enterprise.—Land in the Bay of Bulls.—The garrison of St. John's surrender to them.—Sir Jefferey Amherst prepares to retake it.—Sends Colonel Amherst with a detachment for that purpose.—Lands at Kitty-vitty.—Attacks the French.—Is victorious.—The French ^{Quidi-vidi} garrison capitulates.—Articles of capitulation.

1762.

HAVING been so long employed in recording the glorious achievements of the British troops, it is with great reluctance we now find ourselves obliged to recite an event that must, for a moment, cast a gloom over the retrospect of so many brilliant conquests. But even in this instance, fortune seems to have been fickle, only to increase the credit of the British arms, and to afford another example, that the ardour of youth, tempered with judgment, will oftener command success in enterprise, than timid caution and inactive discretion, the general companions of old age.

France, by this time, had been humbled in every quarter of the world; she had received so many checks, that, almost driven

to

to despair, shame urged her to the last exertion of her dying power. This was, to attack the defenceless Island of Newfoundland; and she accordingly fitted out a squadron for that purpose, consisting of

Le Robuste. 74 guns, La Garonne, 44 guns,
L'Eveillé, - 64 La Licorne, 30 and a bombketch.

This squadron was commanded by M. de Terney, who had fifteen hundred land-forces on board, under the orders of the Count de Hauffonville.

On the 24th of June, the French troops landed in the Bay of Bulls without opposition; and, on the 27th, obliged the garrison of St. John's, consisting of about sixty men, to surrender prisoners during the war, on a promise of security for their possessions and effects. The Grammont being taken in the harbour, her crew was included in the above agreement. After the French had taken possession of the fort, they began to repair the fortifications; but destroyed every thing that belonged to the fishery, and burnt a great number of vessels in the north and south harbours; by which, indeed, private property alone was injured, but to so great a degree, that many individuals were ruined by it.

As soon as General Amherst received the news of this misfortune, he, without waiting for orders from the ministry, by which a season might be lost, and the place rendered more tenable by its present possessors, planned an attack to recover it. Actuated by that spirit of enterprise which had so eminently distinguished him during the campaigns of 1758, 1759, and 1760, he formed a few of the surviving troops, which had just arrived from the West-Indies, with some provincials, into a

HISTORY OF THE

corps for this purpose, and entrusted the command of them to his brother, Lieutenant Colonel William Amherst. Accordingly, this gentleman embarked at New-York, on the 15th of August, on board the James transport, with five others, and one victualling ship; and next day sailed out of the hook, without any convoy, for Halifax, there to join Lord Colville, and to take in some more troops, and from thence proceed to Louisbourg with his Lordship, for a farther reinforcement. On the 26th, Colonel Amherst arrived at Halifax; but Lord Colville had already left the place. The Colonel, however, thought it would be proper to embark the troops that were to accompany him from thence, and from Louisbourg, and follow his Lordship, who was gone with one ship of the line and a frigate, to reconnoitre the coast of Newfoundland. In consequence of this resolution, the fleet was ready to sail from Halifax by the 29th; but contrary winds prevented its getting out of the harbour till the 1st of September. On the 5th, it arrived at Louisbourg; and the next day, the troops that were to be taken from the garrison embarked, when the land-forces and artillery of the armament were as follows:

Troops.			
Royal,	-	-	237
Five companies of the 45th regiment,	-	-	305
77th,	-	-	158
Two companies draughted from different corps,	-	-	191
Provincials,	-	-	520
Royal artillery,	-	-	58
			<hr/>
Total,			1559

formed into two battalions; the first commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Tuliken, the second by Major Sutherland.

Artillery.

Artillery.

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Four	-	24 pounders.	Two 10 inch mortars,
Six	-	12 ditto,	One 8 inch ditto,
Two light	12 ditto,		Six royals,
Four	-	6 ditto,	Six cohorns,
			Four howitzers.

On the 7th in the morning, Colonel Amherst put to sea again, and on the 11th joined Lord Colville, a few leagues to the south of St. John's. The Colonel had designed to land his troops at Kitty-Vitty; but by the intelligence he received from Lord Colville, found it impracticable, in consequence of its being a very narrow entrance, and the French having entirely stopped it up, by sinking shallops in the channel; he therefore fixed on Torbay, about three leagues off, for that purpose; and indeed, it was now the only place near St. John's that troops could land at. Accordingly, the transports were sent into that harbour, under the protection of the Syren; but it was late at night on the 12th, before they all came to an anchor.

Colonel Amherst, with Captain Douglas of the navy, took a view of the coast, and discovered a very proper beach to land upon. But it blew so hard that night, that one of the transports, with the provincial light infantry on board, was driven out to sea. The remainder of the troops landed the next day, with very little opposition, at the bottom of a bay, from whence there was a path to St. John's. The light infantry of the regulars, who got first on shore, giving the French a fire, the latter immediately retired towards St. John's; upon which the whole of this little army marched on, for about four miles, through a very thick wood, and over very bad ground, when Captain Macdonald's light infantry, which was in front, came

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up with some of the party which had been driven from the landing-place, but lay now concealed in the wood, and fired on the Captain as soon as he got within their reach; but part of his corps rushed in upon them too suddenly to give them time for another discharge, took three prisoners, and put the rest to flight.

The country now opening, the army marched to the left of Kitty-Vitty, to take possession of that pass; it being necessary to force a communication for the landing of the artillery and stores, as it was impracticable to get them up the roads, by which the army had advanced. When the right was close to Kitty-Vitty, the French fired on them from a hill on the opposite side. Colonel Amherst, therefore, sent a party up a rock, which commanded the passage over; and, under cover of the fire made by the light infantry companies of the Royal and Montgomery's, supported by the grenadiers of the former, passed over; drove the enemy, who had come down the hill, up again; and pursued them, on that side, towards St. John's. But another body of the French being now perceived in their way to support the former, Major Sutherland, with the remainder of the first battalion, was immediately ordered over to attack them. This determined the enemy to retreat; by which Colonel Amherst had time to take post before it was dark. The troops, however, lay on their arms all night. Captain Mackenzie, who commanded Montgomery's light infantry, was mortally wounded in this affair; and ten of the enemy were taken prisoners. On the 14th, the channel, in which the enemy had sunk the shallops, was cleared; but they still occupied a breast-work which commanded the entrance and a battery, though not quite finished. Lieutenant Colonel Tuliken, who had been hurt by a fall, and left on board, joined the

army this day ; and Captain Fergusson, who commanded the artillery, brought round some light pieces and stores, in shallops, from Torbay.

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The French were still in possession of two very high and steep hills ; one in the front of the advanced post, from whence they fired on the guards, and the other nearer to St. John's. These two hills, in all appearance, commanded the whole ground from Kitty-Vitty to St. John's. As, therefore, it was necessary to proceed on this side, in order to secure the landing at Kitty-Vitty, on the 17th, just before break of day, Colonel Amherst ordered Captain Macdonald's corps of light infantry, and the provincial light infantry, which were now arrived, supported by the advanced posts, to endeavour to surprise the enemy on the hills. Captain Macdonald had the good fortune to pass their centres and advanced guards unobserved, and was first discovered by their main body on the hills, as he was scaling the rocks. However, they did not fire on him till he had gained the summit, when they gave way on his returning it. Lieutenant Schuyler, and four rank and file were killed on this occasion ; Captain Macdonald, and eighteen rank and file were wounded. The French had three companies of grenadiers at this post, with two pickets, commanded by M. Belcombe, Lieutenant Colonel, and the second in command. This gentleman and a Captain of grenadiers were wounded ; his lieutenant and several soldiers were killed ; and the wounded captain and thirteen private men were taken prisoners. The French had one mortar here, with which they threw some shells in the night ; a six pounder not mounted, and two wall-pieces.

As these hills command the harbour, Colonel Amherst, on the 16th, marched to the hill nearest to St. John's, which the French

1762.

French had abandoned, though not without leaving a guard at the post of Kitty-Vitty, on the other side. Some provisions, artillery, and other stores were landed this day. In the preceding night, the French fleet, favoured by a fog, put to sea. On the 17th, a mortar battery was completed, and a battery begun for four twenty-four pounders and two twelve pounders, about five hundred yards from the fort, and a road made for bringing up the artillery from the landing place. At night the mortar battery was opened with one eight inch mortar, six cohorns, and six royals; the enemy, all the while, keeping a brisk fire, and throwing many shells from the fort.

On the 16th, Colonel Amherst summoned the Governor to surrender, by the following letter, which produced a correspondence that ended in a capitulation.

SIR, Camp before St. John's, Sept. 17th, 1762.

" Humanity directs me to acquaint you of my firm intention. I know the miserable state your garrison is left in, and am fully informed of your design of blowing up the fort, on quitting it; but have a care; for I have taken measures effectually to cut off your retreat: and so sure as a match is put to the train, every man in the garrison shall be put to the sword. I must have immediate possession of the fort, in the state it is now in, or expect the consequences. I give you half an hour to think of it. I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

To the Officer commanding
St. John's.

Wm. AMHERST."

Answer.

Answer to the above summons.

Fort St. John's, Sept. 16th, 1762.

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" With regard to the conduct I shall hold, you may, Sir, be misinformed. I wait for your troops and your cannon; and nothing shall determine me to surrender the fort, unless you shall have totally destroyed it, and that I shall have no powder to fire. I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

THE COUNT D'HAUSSONVILLE."

Count d'Haussonville's second letter to Lieutenant Colonel Amherst.

Fort St. John's, Sept. 18th, 1762.

" Under the uncertainty of the succours which I may receive, either from France or her allies, and the fort being entire, and in good condition for a long defence, I am resolved to defend myself to the last extremity. The capitulation which you may think proper to grant, may determine me to surrender the place to you, in order to prevent shedding the blood of the men who defend it. Whatever resolution you come to, there is one left to me, which would hurt the interests of the sovereign you serve. I have the honour to be, &c.

THE COUNT D'HAUSSONVILLE."

Colonel Amherst's reply.

Camp before St. John's, Sept. 18th, 1762.

" I have just had the honour of your letter. His Britannic Majesty's fleet and army co-operating here, will not give any other terms to the garrison of St. John's, than their surrendering prisoners of war.

P p p

" I do

1762.

" I do not thirst for the blood of the garrison ; but you must determine quickly, or expect the consequences ; for this is my final determination. I am,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Wm. AMHERST."

The Count d'Haussonville's reply.

Sept. 18th, 1762.

" I have received, Sir, your letter, which you did me the honour to write me. I am equally averse with yourself to the effusion of blood. I consent to surrender the fort in good condition, as I have already acquainted you, if the terms I herewith inclose are granted to my troops. I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

THE COUNT D'HAUSSONVILLE."

Terms of Capitulation required by the garrison of St. John's, and the troops in general in that place.

I. The French troops shall surrender prisoners of war.

GRANTED.

II. The commissioned and non-commissioned officers shall keep their arms, to be the better able to keep their men in order.

GRANTED.

III. Good ships shall be allowed the officers, grenadiers, soldiers, wounded as well as not wounded, within a month, to transport them to France, and land them on the coasts of Brittany.

GRANTED ; Lord Colville will, of course, embark them as soon as he possibly can.

IV. The effects of the officers and soldiers shall not be touched.

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Answer. His Britannic Majesty's troops never pillage.

Camp before St. John's, (Signed)

September 18th, 1762.

Wm. AMHERST.

LE COMTE D'HAUSSONVILLE.

This is to be signed by Lord Colville; but it will remain at present, as afterwards, in full force.

It appears by this capitulation, that Lord Colville was not present at the making or concluding of it. He was then at sea, and the wind would not permit his Lordship to stand in. Colonel Amherst, therefore, that no time should be lost in so advanced a season, took on himself to determine with regard to the terms that should be granted to the garrison of St. John's, and had the pleasure to find, on Lord Colville's return, that his Lordship approved them.

The spirit and perseverance of the troops employed on this occasion, exceeded the most sanguine hopes, even of their own officers, who knew them best. On their alacrity entirely depended the recovery of this valuable island, before the bad season set in; and Colonel Amherst's endeavours to keep alive that spirit were effectually seconded by Colonel Tuliken.

Captain Macdonald was to have proceeded to England with an account of this advantage; but his wound, a broken leg, not being thought sufficiently healed for that purpose, Captain Campbell, of the twenty-second regiment, was named to replace him, and carry the colours the French had hoisted on the fort of St. John's.

1762.

The retaking of Newfoundland, a place of so much consequence to the mercantile part of England, terminated the war between the English and the French in this quarter of the world. The armies brought into the field by the former, during the first campaigns, were disgraced by knavery, ignorance, or timidity. But, happily for Britain, in 1758, a period was put to misconduct; and, from that auspicious æra, in which General Amherst was honoured with the command of the British arms in North-America, a succession of rapid conquests attended their efforts. Wherever the British colours were seen to fly, there victory generally followed; and, at length, the whole power of the French on the Continent of North-America yielded to the superior courage of the British soldiers, and the great abilities of their commanders.

A cessation of arms, which now took place, was, in a short time, followed by a definitive treaty. This treaty was signed at Versailles, on the 10th day of February 1763, and restored peace to France, Spain, and England, in every quarter of the globe.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
L A T E W A R I N A M E R I C A.
B O O K X I I.

Source of the new war between the English and Indians in North-America.—Plan and preparations of the Indians.—Their first exploits.—They take several forts.—Detroit closely blockaded.—Fort-Pitt besieged.—Relief sent to Detroit and Niagara.—Stratagem of the Indians, to surprise the garrison of Detroit, defeated.—Sally by Captain Dalyell.—Relief sent to Fort-Pitt, under Colonel Bouquet.—Siege of Fort-Pitt raised by the Indians.—Actions between the English and the Indians near Bushy-Run.—Colonel Bouquet arrives at Fort-Pitt.—Great bravery of the crew of a vessel.—Spirit of discontent amongst the English troops.—The cause of it removed by Sir Jeffrey Amherst.—The King's approbation of the late behaviour of the troops near Bushy-Run.—Plan of operation for the year 1764, by Colonels Bouquet and Bradstreet.—Major General Gage succeeds Sir Jeffrey Amherst.—Colonel Bradstreet and Sir William Johnson arrive at Niagara, and find a great number of Indians there.—Transactions with them.—Colonel Bradstreet's orders concerning his conduct towards the Indians.—Sir William Johnson returns home, and the Indians disperse.—Colonel Bradstreet met by Indian nations suing for peace.—Preliminaries granted them.—Colonel Bradstreet gives an account of his proceedings to General Gage and Colonel Bouquet.

Bouquet.——Sends Captain Morris to take possession of the Illinois-country.——Colonel Bradstreet arrives at Detroit.——Indians flock to sue for peace.——Peace concluded with them.——Description of Detroit.——Colonel Bradstreet leaves that place.——His transactions with the Indians for a peace condemned by General Gage.——Zeal of the Six Nations in the cause of the English.——Great distress of Colonel Bradstreet.——He conquers all difficulties by his prudence, and arrives at length at Ontario.——Colonel Bouquet proceeds on his march.——Is met by deputies from the Senecas, Delawars, and Shawanese.——They deliver up a great number of their captives.——He exacts hostages for their sending deputies to Sir William Johnson.——The Colonel returns to Fort-Pitt, disposes of his regulars, and sends home the provincials and the rescued captives.

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THE general peace, which thus put an end to a most extensive and bloody war, was justly deemed, by the bulk of mankind, a happy event. But the British subjects in North-America thought they had particular reason to rejoice at it, as it left the French so little power in their neighbourhood, and determined by it the boundaries between the two nations, with the greatest accuracy and precision. In this, however, they soon found themselves greatly mistaken. They did not sufficiently consider the jealous temper of the Indians included within these bounds, nor the opportunity which the French, by retaining possession of New-Orleans, and the joint navigation of the Mississippi, still had of inflaming that jealousy. What alarmed them most was the chains of forts running through their country, in almost every direction; especially those built on their lakes, and on the several straits between them. Those military establishments, they looked upon as the embryos of so many new colonies, by which, sooner or later, they would be elbowed out of the land of their forefathers; and a very imprudent

imprudent omission of the usual presents on our parts, contributed not a little to confirm these apprehensions, which, if not originally excited, were, there is great reason to believe, greatly increased by the French. That nation, independent of any views it might have of recovering the country which it had lately ceded to the English, could not but regret the loss of the gainful trade it had so long before that period, carried on with the natives; and the likeliest method to get once more possession of this trade, was to sow and cultivate the seeds of dissention between the Indians and their new allies. They therefore taught the former to consider the latter in the light of masters, and even tyrants, rather than friends; and it must be owned, that the general behaviour of the French to the Indians, was so very different from that of the English, as to give all the weight the French could wish to those lessons; the effects of which, accordingly, became every day more and more visible. We mention these particulars, not only to recommend the manner in which the French treat the Indians as highly deserving to be imitated by us; but to wear out of the minds of such of our deluded countrymen as are not entirely destitute of good sense and humanity, the prejudices conceived against an innocent, much abused, and once happy people, who, with all their simplicity, are no strangers to the first principles of morality; and, accordingly, entertain as deep a sense of the justice, benevolence, and condescension of their former friends, the French, as they do of the injustice, cruelty, and insolence, with which they have been used by their present fellow-subjects, the English.

But it may be proper to give an instance or two of this difference. The French court encouraged marriages between its subjects

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subjects and Indian women ; and this not only proved a great means of civilizing the nations to which the latter belonged ; but effectually served to procure the former admission into their councils, and thereby a thorough knowledge of all their most secret designs, from the formation of them ; and this procedure so entirely won their affections, that to this very hour, the savages say, the French and they are one people.

Another thing, which does still greater honour to the policy and humanity of the French government, was their strictly forbidding the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians, under pain of not being absolved by any clergyman but the bishop : this prevented many mischiefs amongst these unfortunate tribes, who have fallen to our lot by the last peace. To taste spirits and get drunk, is the same thing with the Indians ; and from drunkenness arises, among them, all disorders. There is nothing, let it be ever so shocking and abominable, of which an intoxicated Indian is not capable ; nay, which he will not madly endeavour to commit ; and, unfortunately, there is no advantage which the English traders scruple to take of them in that deplorable condition. They impose on the men both in buying and selling, abuse their wives and daughters, and other female relations ; and go yet greater lengths, if possible, in every other species of wickedness. Where is the wonder then, if we so often find the Indians on our backs, without being able to particularise the motives of their insurrection : We might very well wonder if it were otherwise. Thus, the bare behaviour of a few dissolute pedlars has often, without any other assignable cause, cost the lives of many of our most inoffensive and industrious fellow-subjects, who are just emerging from the gloom of want and toil, into the fair prospect of ease and affluence.

No people on the face of the earth are fuller of the idea of liberty, than the North-American Indians. The very thoughts of that slavery which they were made to expect under the English, was enough to determine them to enter into every proposal the French could offer. It was with the utmost regret the savages had so lately parted with the garrisons of that nation, which had been stationed amongst them; and with proportionable jealousy and aversion they received the English. Yet we foolishly flattered ourselves, that this regret would wear out with time, but we never took the proper steps to contribute to so desirable an end; and this omission was accompanied with a mistake productive of a still greater. We vainly imagined, that however hostile the dispositions of the savages might be, they could not, for want of assistance from the French, do us any great mischief; and therefore, did not sufficiently provide against any attack from them. Our hopes proved as vain and short-lived, as they had been sanguine and premature; and the storm arose from that quarter from which we least expected it.

It soon appeared, that at the very time we were representing the Indians to ourselves as completely subdued, and perfectly obedient to our power, they were busy in planning the destruction, not only of our most insignificant and remote forts, but our most important and central settlements. They had collected abundance of small arms and ammunition, and every other necessary such a hostile and general design could suggest; and then proceeded to the execution of it, with a degree of activity and resolution, such as till this occasion they had never before discovered. The Shawanese and Delawares, in particular, the original schemers of this war, were so eager to begin it, that it was with much difficulty they could be prevailed upon to

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refrain from hostilities till their confederates were ready to enter into action with them. Their plan was to make a general and sudden attack upon the frontiers, in the height of the harvest, destroying all the fruits of the earth with man and beast, as far as they could penetrate; and then fall on the advanced posts, intercept the convoys coming to them, and cut off their communication with the provinces. By way of prelude to this horrid tragedy, they massacred the traders whom they had invited amongst them, and seized on their effects. Thus flushed with blood, their scalping parties advanced to the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, marking their way with devastation and slaughter, and every where committing the most horrid cruelties. The main bodies then attacked all our out-posts, though at a great distance from each other, almost at the same instant, and made themselves masters of Le Bœuf, Venango, Presque-Isle, and Sandusky, on Lake-Erie; of La-Baye, on Lake-Michigan; of St. Joseph, on the River St. Joseph; of the Miamis, on the River-Miamis; of Ouachtanon, on the Ouabach, and of Michilimackinack.

The garrisons of all these forts were very weak, as, from the general peace so lately concluded, it was thought they had nothing to apprehend; and from the nature of their situation, they could not receive, in case of danger, any immediate assistance, either from the colonies, or from each other. The Indians, knowing their weak and helpless condition, employed, nevertheless, stratagem as well as force against them. They made it their business to persuade the garrison in every fort, that those in the others had surrendered, before they themselves well knew whether they really had or not; and thus, by making their situation appear desperate, prevailed on
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many of them to surrender on terms, which they never intended to observe. But what contributed more than any thing else to the loss of these places, was their being most unaccountably left to depend for their provisions on the Indians in their neighbourhood; a circumstance alone sufficient to tempt the Indians to attack them. Presque-Isle, which was the most tenable in itself, and stood best for relief, was one of those which surrendered by capitulation. The perfidy of the savages with regard to all former capitulations between them and the English, should have made the commanding officer risk every thing, as the sole chance of saving those under him from the scalping-knife, with which they were cruelly butchered, a very few excepted, amongst whom the commanding officer had the good fortune to make one.

The news of the loss of so many places, and of the ravages which the Indians still continued to commit, spread consternation through the provinces, and depopulated a considerable part of the frontier. In the space of a few days, the English saw themselves deprived of the fruits of several bloody and expensive campaigns. They were driven from some of the posts, the dispute about which had been the principal cause of the war, as the possession of them was one of the greatest advantages obtained by the peace. Their affairs, however, were not yet quite desperate. The hands into which these places fell were such as could not keep them, like the French; and they were still masters of Fort-Pitt, Niagara, and Detroit.

These forts, besides being much larger as well as better constructed than the rest, had sufficient garrisons to sustain a siege of some continuance. Niagara was not closely attacked; but some scattering parties infested the communication be-

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63. between it and Lake-Erie, on which several people were killed. Fort-Pitt and Detroit were indeed closely blockaded : but they were both defended with equal vigilance and bravery ; the latter, in particular, by Major Gladwin, against the boldest leader among the savages, and the united efforts of all those inhabiting the banks of the Upper-Lakes.

The Indians had entirely invested Fort-Pitt, and had so effectually cut off the communication between it and every other place, as made it impossible for the garrison either to send or receive any intelligence ; they even took post under the banks of both rivers, near the ramparts, and there remained, with the most incredible patience, many days together, keeping upon the place a continual fire of small arms intermixed with heavy showers of lighted arrows. Too eager to wait till famine should compel the garrison to surrender, they hoped to effect their purpose by wearing them down with constant fatigue, and destroying by fire every place that could afford them the least shelter.

Captain Ecuyer, who commanded in this fort, wanted almost as many necessaries to sustain a regular siege, as the Indians did to form one. Besides, his works had been greatly damaged by the overflowing of the neighbouring rivers : but he, with great judgment, employed every method to conquer these inconveniencies ; and, seconded by those who had fled to him for protection, took every possible step, not only to maintain his post, but repulse the enemy.

Sir Jeffrey Amherst now commanded in America ; but he was a commander almost without any troops to obey him. The finest army, for its numbers, in the whole world ; that army
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which had conquered the French territories in this quarter of the globe, was now quite melted down by the West-India service, insomuch that there scarce remained a sufficiency of effective men for the common garrison duty. Besides, the shattered remains of the seventy-seventh and eightieth regiments were at this very time actually reduced or disbanded, and ordered for England to be discharged there. But considering the critical situation of affairs, and the necessity there was of putting an immediate stop to the horrid cruelties which the savages were every where committing, he thought it his duty to detain them; and sending invalids to the nearer garrisons to relieve such troops as were more fit for active service, he ordered the forty-second and part of the seventy-seventh regiment to Fort-Pitt. The fifty-fifth was at Ontario, the forty-sixth at Niagara, and the eightieth at Detroit.

The fewness of his troops put it out of the General's power to think so soon of re-establishing the more distant posts: He, therefore, for the present, confined his whole attention to Fort-Pitt, Niagara, and Detroit.

A small body, therefore, was hastily collected for the relief of Detroit, and another for the reinforcement of the garrison of Niagara. These troops were commanded by Captain Dalyell, who, having left those destined for Niagara, proceeded to Detroit, where he arrived on the evening of the 30th of July 1763. Pondiac, a celebrated Indian chief, with the numerous tribes in the vicinity of that place, had for some time been closely blockading it by land; and by means of a conference allowed him within the fort, had surprised the garrison, were it not for the vigilance of the very able officer who commanded there. Suspicion is the best guard against such insidious foes; and Major Gladwin

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Gladwin had the good sense to draw this conclusion from their former conduct in similar circumstances. Accordingly, before he admitted the Indians into the place, he put the garrison under arms, and made such other dispositions, as totally defeated their treacherous design. Had they succeeded in their deep-laid scheme, of putting him first to death, every man of them must have fallen a victim to the resentment of his troops. Pontiac had sagacity enough to perceive this. He harangued, as usual, on a belt, white on one side, and green on the other; and began his discourse on the white side. The turning the belt was to be the signal, in case circumstances proved favourable, for opening the tragedy by the murder of Major Gladwin; but Pontiac thought better of the matter, and never made use of it.

Many of the French had enlisted under the banners of Pontiac; and one of them became his secretary. It was a thing without precedent, for such a multitude of Indians to keep the field so long. Their strong propensity to roving, and the difficulty of providing them with subsistence, had hitherto hindered their chiefs from undertaking any affair which required time and numbers to achieve it. But on this occasion, the influence of Pontiac kept them together, whilst the address of his secretary procured them provisions. To accomplish this, he issued formal orders to the neighbouring inhabitants, in the name of the French king, for what flour and cattle was wanted; and before Captain Dalyell's arrival, had gone so far as to summon Major Gladwin to surrender his fort to that monarch.

Had Captain Dalyell brought nothing but provisions with him to Detroit, his coming there might have been reckoned
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a very essential service; for, by the time he reached it, the garrison was reduced to the greatest straits. But this was not enough to satisfy his martial ardour. He unhappily considered the Indians as a very despicable foe, and despised them accordingly. As soon, therefore, as he became acquainted with their situation, he supposed that it could be no difficult matter, not only to make them abandon their present design, but so effectually chastise them, as to prevent their attempting any thing like it for the future.

It was in vain that Major Gladwin, who knew better, endeavoured to persuade the Captain from this dangerous undertaking. All his arguments were looked upon by him as no better than so many contrivances to prevent his reaping a large harvest of military glory. The Major, therefore, considering, that, as Captain Dalycell was Sir Jeffrey's aid de camp, he might be reasonably supposed best acquainted with his sentiments; he therefore permitted him to make the attempt with two hundred and fifty men. To give him more was impossible, without risking the loss of the place, should any accident happen to those he gave.

With this force, Captain Dalycell sallied out, about half an hour after two in the morning of the 31st of July; taking the great road by the river-side, whilst two boats, in the nature of row-gallies, and a pateraro in each of them, rowed up the river, with orders to keep close to the shore, and up with the line of march, in order to take off the killed and wounded, and cover a retreat in case of accident. About a mile and a half from the fort, the Captain ordered his men to form into platoons; and, if attacked in front, to defend themselves by street-firing. About a mile farther, the advanced guard, com-

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manded by Lieutenant Brown, was fired upon by the enemy from under the cover of their works, and had several men killed and wounded. Some of the balls reached to the main body, and threw the men into some confusion; but they soon recovered. Captain Grey then returned the enemy's fire on the front of their works, as the quarter where most execution might be expected, it being still too dark to distinguish objects. Captain Grant, being in the rear, was now likewise fired on from some houses and fences, about twenty yards from his left; upon which he faced about his own and Captain Hopkins's company, and gave a full discharge on those places from whence he had been fired upon. The enemy seeming to retire in consequence of this ready and resolute return of their salute, Captain Dalyell ordered Captain Grant to take possession of those houses and fences from which it had been given; and Captain Grant, having immediately executed these orders, found, in one of the houses, two men, who informed him, that the enemy were about three hundred strong; and being, withal, perfectly well apprised of the garrison's design, intended to get between the falling party and the fort, to cut off their retreat.

As soon as Captain Dalyell was made acquainted with this superiority of the enemy, and the use they intended to make of it, he concluded it was high time to think of a retreat; and to cover his march, ordered Captain Grant to take post in an orchard. By this time the Indians began an heavy firing on his rear, from the fences and corn-fields which lay behind it, and he himself was one of the first who fell on the occasion. Captain Grant, being informed by Lieutenant Macdougall of Captain Dalyell's death, and likewise, that Captain Grey was too severely wounded to act, assumed the command, which, by these

these events, devolved upon him; and continuing the retreat, took possession of the houses, barns, and fences, in the way to the fort. But Captain Rogers, having been hard pressed by the enemy, from behind a house in which he had taken post, was obliged to wait for one of the row-gallies to cover his retreat. When the boat arrived, and had dispersed the savages by a few discharges, Captain Rogers lost no time in embracing the opportunity to come off; and his and the several other small bodies, into which the falliers had separated, having joined again without any confusion, they continued their march back to the fort in good order. It must not be forgot, that Captain Grant, by the able manner in which he conducted this dangerous retreat, acquired to himself particular honour. Besides Captain Dalyell, we lost one serjeant, and eighteen rank and file killed; Captain Grey, Lieutenants Duke and Brown, one drummer, and thirty-eight rank and file wounded.

Though the issue of this fallly did great honour to Major Gladwin's foresight, it proved extremely disadvantageous to the English affairs; not so much, indeed, by their loss in men, as by the fresh spirits with which it inspired the Indians.

All this time, Fort-Pitt continued in the most critical situation. No news was to be heard from the garrison, or even about it; and it was a march of two hundred miles through the wood to relieve it. Colonel Bouquet, however, was ordered upon this difficult and dangerous service, with the poor remains of the forty-second and seventy-seventh regiments, and some ammunition and provisions. These corps had been enfeebled, or rather worn down, by the expedition to the Havana; and the few survivors not yet recovered from the con-

fuming and dispiriting diseases of the West-India climate, saw themselves, when they least expected it, suddenly engaged in an expedition, which required the utmost activity, and the most vigorous constitution.

Orders had been given to prepare a convoy of provisions on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, against the Colonel's arrival there: But such was the general terror and consternation which had seized the inhabitants, that he had reached Carlisle before any step had been taken to forward his march. It must be owned, however, that this was not altogether a groundless panic. A great number of the poor people's plantations had been pillaged and burned, and many of their mills destroyed by the savages. The harvest, indeed, was in complete maturity; but then, there was no one to gather it. Besides, the greatest part of the county of Cumberland, through which the army was to pass, was deserted; and the roads leading to it covered with wretched families, who having suddenly abandoned their habitations to save their lives, were now ready to perish for want of the most common necessaries to support nature.

By this confusion, the supplies for the expedition became more and more precarious. Instead of receiving succours from a people in easy and affluent circumstances, Colonel Bouquet was obliged to divide his own provisions with them. Nevertheless, in eighteen days after his arrival at Carlisle, by an happy combination of activity in him, and good will in the interior parts of the province, the stores and necessary carriages were ready, and the army put into motion.

The spirits of the people, however, were not much mended by this march. They were too well acquainted with the

strength and ferocity of the enemy, not to look upon them as more than an overmatch for Colonel Bouquet's army, considering the small number and weak condition of the regulars which composed it. Such of them therefore, as had settlements on the Susquehanna, held themselves in readiness to abandon them on the first news of the fatal event they apprehended. In this state of despondency, it is not surprising that they refused to follow the troops for their common defence. Their knowledge of the woods, as well as their being good hunters, and excellent marksmen, might have been of the greatest service; but their fears were, unfortunately, too strong, to let them set a proper value upon these advantages.

The defeat of this little army would have exposed the province of Pennsylvania, in particular, to the greatest danger, considering the enterprising genius and barbarous disposition of the enemy it had to deal with. The county of Cumberland, which formed the frontier, could muster no militia to oppose the Indians, even if its inhabitants had not deserted it, most of them being traders and farmers, ignorant of the use of arms. Government, indeed, had ordered a levy of seven hundred men to cover these frontiers during the harvest. But what could be expected from new raised, raw, and even undisciplined troops? Accordingly, Colonel Bouquet was obliged to depend entirely upon himself, having no troops, or any farther supply of stores to expect from the province, nor any reinforcement from the General, who had already given him every man that was in a condition to quit the hospital; nay, many of these were too weak to make use of their legs; and therefore were obliged to be carried in waggons, merely for the purpose of adding some strength, such as it was, in proportion as they recovered, to the

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small posts on the route, by which the communication was to be kept up.

In the mean time, Fort-Ligonier was in great danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, before the Colonel could reach it. Its defences were very bad, the garrison weak, and the attack made upon it by the Indians vigorous enough to give apprehensions to a strong one. But they were repulsed by the conduct and bravery of Lieutenant Blane, who commanded there.

The preservation of this post was of the utmost consequence, from its situation, and still more, from a great magazine of provisions it contained. Could the Indians have made themselves masters of it, they might have continued the siege of Fort-Pitt, with better hopes of success, and greatly incommode the troops destined to relieve it. Considering these circumstances, there was an almost absolute necessity for succouring it at any risk. A body, therefore, of thirty men, accompanied with good guides, was detached for that purpose, and ordered to take their route by the woods, by which means they had the good fortune to succeed. Twenty volunteers, sent by Captain Oury from Fort-Bedford, a place between Carlisle and Fort-Pitt, in which there was another magazine, had arrived there before them. Fort-Bedford had not yet been attacked by the savages; otherwise it would have been highly imprudent in Captain Oury to have made such a detachment, as his place was not stronger, either in works or in men to defend them, than Lieutenant Blane's; but a great number of distressed families in its neighbourhood had fled to it for protection, leaving their effects a prey to the savages: this enabled Captain Oury thus to attend to the relief of his partners in danger, whilst he took

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every measure which prudence and military skill could suggest to ensure his own safety, by preventing surprise, repulsing open attacks, and rendering useless or defeating the effects of the burning arrows, which the Indians showered into the place. With this view, he formed into companies all the fugitives that were capable of carrying arms; and they did duty with the garrison, till the arrival of two companies of light infantry, detached by Colonel Bouquet.

This able officer having thus provided for the safety of these two important magazines at the forts Ligonier and Bedford, advanced to the most distant settlements, without being able to procure the least intelligence of the number or situation of the enemy. He could not get any even at Fort-Bedford, where he arrived on the 25th of July. For though the Indians dared not to make any attack upon that place, their parties were so well disposed in the neighbourhood, that neither messenger nor any thing else could escape them; and accordingly, eighteen persons had been made prisoners, or killed and scalped by them. This total want of intelligence is no uncommon case with officers conducting campaigns in North-America; whereas the Indians always have the best information, and they had it at this time in particular. As soon as they heard of Colonel Bouquet's march, they raised the siege of Fort-Pitt, in order to meet him, fully resolved to seize the first opportunity of attacking him to advantage.

In this uncertainty concerning the strength and motions of the Indians, Colonel Bouquet left Fort-Bedford on the 28th of July. On his arrival at Fort-Ligonier, he prudently determined to leave there his waggon, with some provisions, powder, and
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other stores, and pursue his rout with the troops only, and about three hundred and forty horses loaded with flour. He had to pass a place called Turtle-Creek, a dangerous defile, many miles in length, and commanded, on every side, by steep hills. Having halted some time to refresh his men and horses at Dushy-Run, he came to a resolution of making a forced march through this defile in the night; but, at one in the afternoon of the 5th of August, after a march of seventeen miles, his advanced guard was suddenly attacked by a body of the savages, who had hid themselves on the side of the road for that purpose; but being immediately supported by the two light infantry companies of the forty-second regiment, they drove them from their ambuscade, and even pursued them to some distance. The savages, however, returned to the attack, and their fire proving obstinate on the front, and extending along the flanks, Colonel Bouquet found it necessary to make a general charge with his whole line, to dislodge them from the heights, and succeeded in the attempt, though without gaining by his success any decisive advantage. The savages were no sooner driven from one place than they appeared in another, and when no longer pursued, returned to the charge, till, by receiving continual reinforcements, they were at last enabled to surround the English on every side, and even attack the convoy left in their rear, which obliged Colonel Bouquet to march back to protect it. The action, upon this, became general. But though the savages attacked the English upon every side, and fought with uncommon resolution, they were constantly repulsed with loss. Ours, however, was by no means inconsiderable: Captain-Lieutenant Graham, and Captain Macintosh, of the forty-second regiment, were killed; and Captain Graham, Lieutenant Dow, of the Royal Americans, Lieutenant

tenant Donald Campbell, and Volunteer Peebles of the seventy-seventh, wounded. The battle ended only with the day. The great activity of Major Campbell, of the forty-second regiment, was of infinite service upon this very critical occasion. Indeed, the conduct of the officers in general, was above praise; and the men kept themselves, the whole time, so cool, and behaved so steadily, that they never attempted to fire without orders; and at length drove the savages from their posts with fixed bayonets.

Possession was now taken of a hill where the convoy had halted when the front was first attacked, as it afforded a commodious spot, both with regard to situation and extent, for the purpose of a temporary post. Accordingly, the whole of the army was here incircled, the wounded being covered with the flour-bags.

The morning of the next day, being the 6th of August, the savages surrounded the camp at the distance of about five hundred yards, and by a perpetual shouting and yelling quite round this extensive circumference, were in hopes of terrifying the army with their numbers. They then, very early, began an attack; and keeping up an incessant fire, made several bold efforts to penetrate the camp; but all to no purpose. Still, however, their method of fighting rendered our situation extremely critical and perplexing. Brisk attacks can have but little effect upon an enemy who always give way when pressed, and immediately appear again. Besides, the English troops were exceedingly fatigued with the long march, and long action of the preceding day; and what was still worse, distressed to the last degree by a total want of water, much more intolerable than the enemy's fire.

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Tied to his wounded and his convoy, the Colonel could not lose sight of either, without exposing them to fall a prey to the savages, who pressed upon him on every side: Yet, to move with the whole was impracticable, as he had lost a great many horses, and the drivers, stupefied by fear, had either hid themselves in the bushes, or were become incapable of obeying or even hearing orders.

At length, the savages growing every moment more and more audacious, Colonel Bouquet, with that happy sagacity which sometimes draws from evils their own remedy, thought the best thing he could do, would be, if possible, to increase their confidence, and by that means entice them to close in upon him, or at least stand their ground when attacked. With this view, he ordered two companies of light infantry within the circle, and the troops on the right and left to open their files, and fill up the space these two companies had occupied, that it might look as if the latter intended to cover the retreat of the former. The third company of light infantry, with the grenadiers of the forty-second regiment, were ordered to support the two first companies. This manœuvre had the desired effect; for the few troops who had taken possession of the ground which the two companies of light infantry had left, being brought in nearer to the circle, the barbarians, mistaking all these motions for a confirmed retreat, hurried headlong on, with the most daring intrepidity. But just as, after excessively galling our troops with a most heavy fire, they thought themselves masters of the camp, Major Campbell, at the head of the two companies which had begun the deception, sallied upon them from a part of the hill they could not observe, and fell upon their right flank. The barbarians returned his fire with great resolution;

lution; but could not withstand the irresistible force of bayonets, with which the Major rushed in upon them, killing many, and putting the rest to flight. In the mean time, orders having been sent to the other two companies to improve the advantage, they were delivered so critically by Captain Bassett, and executed with so much celerity and spirit, that the routed savages, who happened at that moment to be running before their front, received their full fire; and not being covered by any trees, their usual defence, suffered a considerable loss. The four companies uniting, did not give them time to load a second time, nor even look behind them, but pursued them till they were totally dispersed. This, indeed, was only the right of the savages; but their left was so effectually awed by the rest of the English troops, posted on the brow of the hill for that purpose, that they durst not attempt to support the right; and being at length witnesses to its unexpected defeat, prudently followed the example, and saved themselves by a precipitate flight.

The woods being now cleared, and the pursuit over, the four companies took possession of another hill in the front; and as soon as litters could be made for the wounded, and the flour destroyed, with every thing else, which, for want of horses, could not be carried off, Colonel Bouquet marched on without any farther molestation, and encamped at Bushy-Run, where there was plenty of water. Here, however, his camp was hardly formed, when, notwithstanding the issue of the late actions, his little army was again fired upon by the savages. But they were again soon dispersed by the light infantry. The loss of the Indians in these actions could never be ascer-

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After this defeat, the savages, having lost all hopes of destroying Colonel Bouquet's army on its march, instead of renewing the siege of Fort-Pitt, fled with the utmost precipitation to their most distant settlements. The Colonel reached that place, with his convoy, four days after his last action; but, as he did not find himself in a condition to follow the Indians beyond the Ohio, and thereby more completely reap the fruits of his late victory over them; and having no reason to hope for any reinforcements from the provinces in their present distressed condition, he put an end, though with great reluctance, to the operations of the campaign, by providing Fort-Pitt, and the posts on the communication, with provisions, ammunition, and other necessary stores, and distributing his troops into winter quarters.

During these operations, Detroit continued to be blockaded; and the garrison suffered greatly from fatigue, and the want of provisions. They must even have fallen victims to famine, had it not been for the extraordinary bravery of the crew of a schooner, which had been dispatched from Niagara, with provisions for their relief. This vessel sailed from Niagara, the latter end of August 1763, with twelve men, including the master, and six Mohawk Indians, who were intended for a particular service. On the 3d of September she entered the River-Detroit; and, in the morning of the next day, the Mohawks appearing extremely desirous to be put on shore, the master very inconsiderately yielded to their wishes.

All that day the wind proved contrary. About nine in the evening, whilst the vessel lay at anchor, the boatswain discovered a number of canoes coming down the river, with about three hundred and fifty Indians in them. They were immediately saluted with the bow gun. But, before the other guns could be brought to bear upon them, they had got under the vessel's bow and stern, in spite of all her small arms and swivels; and attempted to board her. Upon this, the men, abandoning their small arms, took to their spears, a weapon with which they had been fortunately provided; and, with amazing bravery and resolution, killed numbers of them; notwithstanding which, the savages cut the cable, thinking thereby to divert the attention of the crew from the defence of the vessel to the management of her sails and rudder; but the stratagem turned upon themselves. The schooner, swinging round, not only threw the Indians suddenly into the utmost confusion, but gave the English an opportunity of making use of their great guns, which now did considerable execution, and dispersed the Indians, who were utter strangers to the nature of this marine manœuvre. The master of the schooner, and one of his men, were killed in this affair; and four men were wounded; but the remainder of the crew carried her to Detroit, whose fate depended on her safe arrival. To abandon the place, or at least gain Niagara by land, was impracticable without a greater stock of provisions than the garrison could command, even were there no enemies on the road to oppose their march; and famine must have been the certain consequence of remaining in it. The garrison then had no other prospect but certain death. The arrival of the schooner, therefore, relieved them from the most dismal apprehensions; and proportional were the caresses and other marks of gratitude,

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with which they loaded the heroes to whom they owed their deliverance. The officers, in particular, as a mark of distinction, as well as a reward for their bravery, presented each of them with a silver medal descriptive of the action; and it has been ever since constantly worn by them, at the button-hole, in the manner of a *Croix de Saint Louis*.

Excitements such as this, were they to be universally used in the service, would be attended with the most happy consequences; since nothing can be so flattering to the human mind, especially the mind of those engaged in a profession where glory is generally the chief object, as to be distinguished from one's fellow soldiers by some conspicuous ornament, to which superior merit can alone entitle the wearer.

The garrison of Detroit being now well supplied with provisions, the efforts of the enemy proved of no great consequence, though the setting in of winter prevented any thing more being attempted for its relief, till the return of a season more favourable to military operations. Major Gladwin secured the garrison against any sudden attack; and the Indians in a great measure dispersed, except some small parties who lurked about the fort in such a manner as to render it extremely dangerous to pass the pallisade.

Niagara had not been attacked; but, then, the communication between it and Lake Erie, was continually infested by the Indians, which made it necessary to send large escorts with every thing, that was to pass the carrying place for the garrison of Detroit. To remove this obstacle, a detachment of about ninety men was made from Niagara to attack the body of Indians which formed it. But the inconsiderate ardour of the commanding

commanding officer hurried him into an ambuscade, in which himself, and the whole of his party, except three or four, unfortunately perished.

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The nature of this campaign, of 1763, which was entirely defensive on our part, and the many advantages the Indians had gained in the course of it, without receiving any considerable check, inspired them with a boldness and resolution superior to any they had hitherto manifested. This increase of what generally turns the scale in every hostile contest, required the most active as well as most powerful measures in the English to counteract it to any purpose. Nothing less could answer, than a formidable army as early in the field as the season would permit, and the most vigorous offensive use that could be made of it; but the General was still without a number of regular troops sufficient for that purpose. Nay those he had were in a state of discontent and mutiny, on account of an order which compelled them to pay for their rations, instead of being allowed them gratis, as they had been during the whole course of the last war. But Sir Jeffrey Amherst having taken upon him to represent their inability to comply with this new regulation, and ordered provisions to be issued, as usual, for the ensuing campaign, their minds became a little more quiet; and the following order, whilst it proved extremely flattering to those whom it more particularly concerned, served to create a spirit of emulation amongst all those in general engaged in the service.

Head-Quarters, New-York, 5th June, 1764.

“The King has been graciously pleased to signify to the Commander in chief his royal approbation of the conduct and bravery

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very of Colonel Bouquet, and the officers and troops under his command, in the two actions of the 5th and 6th of August last, in which, notwithstanding the difficulty, and the distressing circumstances which presented themselves, and likewise the boldness and extraordinary resolution of the Indians, he frustrated their designs, repulsed their repeated attacks, and happily conducted his convoy safe to Fort Pitt."

The scarcity of regular troops obliged the General to make a requisition from the provinces; their respective assemblies cheerfully complied with his demands, and issued orders for levying the reinforcements they had severally agreed to give him.

The plan of operations was to send a corps, under the command of Colonel Bouquet, to attack the Delawars, the Shawanese, the Mingoes, the Mohicans, and other Indians settled between the Ohio and the lakes; whilst another, to be commanded by Colonel Bradstreet, attacked the Hurons, the Wiandots, the Ottawas, the Chippawas, and other nations on the banks of the lakes. The naval preparations on the lakes belonging to Captain Loring's department, he was ordered to Oswego to do every thing that was necessary to forward them. In the mean time, Sir William Johnson was to go to Niagara, to ratify the following preliminaries of peace which he had settled in the spring with the Senecas; and use his influence to prevail on as many as he could of the faithful Indians to accompany Colonel Bradstreet in his expedition.

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PRELIMINARY ARTICLES *of peace, friendship and alliance, entered into between the deputies sent from the whole Seneca nation, and Sir William Johnson, Baronet, his Majesty's sole Agent and Superintendant of Indian affairs, for the northern parts of North America, and Colonel of the Six United Nations, their allies and dependants, &c.*

ART. I. That the Seneca nation do immediately stop all hostilities, and solemnly engage never more to make war upon the English, or suffer any of their people to commit any acts of violence on the persons or properties of any of his Majesty's subjects.

Answer. The Sachems and Chiefs of the Senecas agree fully to this article.

II. That they forthwith collect all the English prisoners, deserters, Frenchmen, and Negroes, amongst them, and deliver them up to Sir William Johnson (together with the two Indians of Kanestio, who killed the traders in November 1762) previous to the treaty of peace, which will take place within three months, if these articles are agreed to; and that they engage never to harbour or conceal any deserters, Frenchmen, or Negroes, from this time; but, should any such take refuge amongst them, they are to be brought to the commanding officer of the next garrison, and delivered up; promising, likewise, never to obstruct any search made after such persons, or to hinder their being apprehended in any part of their country.

Answer. Agreed to; and they will assist in apprehending any such in their towns.

III. That they cede to his Majesty, and his successors for ever, in full right, the lands from the fort of Niagara, extending, easterly, along Lake-Ontario, about four miles, comprehending

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ing the Petit-Marais, or landing-place, and running from thence, southerly, about fourteen miles to the creek above Fort-Scholffer or little Niagara, and down the same to the river or strait; thence down the river or strait, and across the same, at the great cataract; thence, northerly, to the banks of Lake Ontario, at a creek or small lake about two miles west of the fort; thence, easterly, along the banks of Lake-Ontario, and across the river or strait to Niagara; comprehending the whole carrying place, with the lands on both sides the strait; and containing a tract of about fourteen miles in length, and four in breadth. And the Senecas do engage never to obstruct the passage of the carrying place, or the free use of any part of the said track; and will likewise give free liberty of cutting timber for the use of his Majesty, or that of the garrisons, in any other part of their country not comprehended therein.

Answer. Agreed to; provided the track be always appropriated to his Majesty's sole use; and that at the definitive treaty the lines be run in the presence of Sir William Johnson and some of the Senecas, to prevent disputes hereafter.

IV. That they allow a free passage through their country from that of Cayugas to Niagara or elsewhere, for the use of his Majesty's troops for ever; engaging never to obstruct or molest any of his Majesty's troops, or other his subjects, who may make use of the same, or who may have occasion to pass through any part of their country by land or by water, from henceforward.

Answer. Agreed to: And moreover (if required) the Senecas will grant escorts of their people; but it is expected they will not be ill-treated by any of the English, who may pass through their country.

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V. That they grant to his Majesty, and his successors, for ever, a free use of the harbours for vessels or boats within their country, on Lake-Ontario, or in any of the rivers; with liberty to land stores, &c. and erect sheds for their security.

AGREED TO.

VI. That they immediately stop all intercourse between any of their people and those of the Shawanese and Delawares, or other his Majesty's enemies, whom they are to treat as common enemies; and to assist his Majesty's arms, in bringing them to proper punishment, solemnly engaging never to be privy to, aid, or assist, any of his Majesty's enemies, or those who may hereafter attempt to disturb the public tranquillity.

AGREED TO.

VII. That should any Indian commit murder on, or rob any of his Majesty's subjects, he shall be immediately delivered up, to be tried and punished, according to the equitable laws of England: and, should any white man be guilty of the like crime towards the Indians, he shall be immediately tried and punished, if guilty. And the Senecas are never, for the future, to procure themselves satisfaction, otherwise than as before mentioned; but to lay all matter of complaint before Sir William Johnson, or his Majesty's superintendant of Indian affairs, for the time being, and strictly to maintain and abide by the covenant chain of friendship.

AGREED TO.

VIII. For the due performance of these articles, the Senecas are to deliver up three of their chiefs as hostages, who are to be

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well treated, and restored to them as soon as the same are fully performed on their parts.

Answer. They agree to leave as hostages, Wannaughfila, Serrihodna, and Arajungas, three of their chiefs.

IX. In consequence of their perfect agreement to the foregoing articles, Sir William Johnson doth, by virtue of the powers and authorities reposed in him, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, promise and engage, that the said Indians shall have a full pardon for past transgressions: That they shall be left in the quiet and peaceable possession of all their rights not comprised in the foregoing articles; and that, on their only duly performing the same, and subscribing the definitive treaty of peace to be held in consequence hereof, they shall be once more admitted into the covenant chain of friendship with the English, and be indulged with a free, fair, and open trade, so long as they abide by their engagements.

Answer. This article the Senecas expect will be strictly regarded, and also that trade will be carried on in a fair and equitable manner.

The foregoing articles, after being duly and fully explained to the chiefs and warriors, deputies from the Senecas, they have signified their assent thereto, by affixing marks of their tribes, to these presents.

Given under my hand at Johnson-Hall, the 3d day of April, 1764.

(Signed) W. JOHNSON.

TAGAANEDIE.
KAANIJES.
CHONEDAGAU.
AUGHNAWAWIS.

SAGENQUERAGHTA.
WANUGHSISIAE.
TAGNOONDIE.
TAAJAJUA.

As the operations of Colonel Bradstreet were to be carried on by water, he constructed the model of a boat on a new plan, forty-six feet in keel, to carry twenty-seven men, and three weeks provisions. The General having approved of this model, the proper workmen were immediately set upon building as many boats after it as the expedition required; and stores of every kind were collected at Schenectady, whilst Colonel Bradstreet exerted all his vigilance and activity to forward these and all other measures necessary to insure the advantages of an early campaign. But though the boats, provisions, ammunition, and other stores, were actually ready by the appointed time, it was the beginning of June before any of the provincial troops arrived at the rendezvous at Albany.

General Sir Jeffrey Amherst had obtained leave to return to England: activity and resolution had distinguished his command; and the disposition of his successor, General Gage, proved such a contrast to it, as could not but strike the colonies. Accordingly, they soon discovered it; and the consequence was, a sudden abatement of the ardour with which they had begun to recruit. The number and quality of the troops they furnished for Colonel Bradstreet's expedition, by no means proved answerable to the intentions of the present General's predecessor; and when a good number of those who had been raised for the service were first assembled, they looked more like candidates for an hospital, than men that were to be immediately employed on a duty, for which the most perfect health and vigorous constitution were so indispensibly requisite. After many delays, however, the provinces put their troops in motion; and as soon as they arrived, Colonel Bradstreet ordered them to Oswego. Sir William Johnson had ordered the Indians who were to accompany Colonel Bradstreet, to rendezvous at

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the same place; and Captain Loring had ready there the vessels that were to be employed in carrying provisions from thence to Niagara, for the use of the army.

At this critical conjuncture, Colonel Bradstreet was seized with a violent illness; but nothing could abate his ardour for the service. Though incapable of assisting personally in the smallest degree, he could not be prevailed upon to remain at Albany, even a few days, but resolutely persisted in being conveyed to Oswego. The English troops were now there, as likewise the Indians under Sir William Johnson. Redhead, the chief of the Onandaga tribe, happening to die at Oswego, he was buried with all the honours of war, as well on our part as that of the Indians, the more to attach them to our interest. The death of this warrior proved a considerable loss to Colonel Bradstreet, who had, on many trying occasions, experienced his fidelity and courage.

The army consisted of the

17th Regiment,	-	-	-	243
55th,	-	-	-	98
New-York battalion,	-	-	-	344
Connecticut battalion,	-	-	-	213
Jersey battalion,	-	-	-	209
Boatmen,	-	-	-	73

Total, 1180

These were ordered into the large boats, and the Indians in their boats and canoes, all under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, of the seventeenth regiment, to Niagara, where they arrived in the beginning of July, when Colonel Bradstreet, being also arrived, took upon him the command of
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the whole. Lieutenant Montresor, of the corps of engineers, had been ordered by Colonel Bradstreet to throw up a chain of redoubts on the carrying place, in order to prevent any insults from the enemy in transporting the provisions, stores, and boats from one lake to another ; and likewise, to erect a fort on the banks of Lake-Erie, for the security of the vessels employed upon it ; and these services were effectually performed before the arrival of the army.

During the preceding winter, or early in the spring, Sir William Johnson had sent belts of wampum to certain Indian nations to meet him at this time, in order to renew their friendship ; and to others to accommodate differences, and settle terms of peace. Major Gladwin had likewise recommended it, from Detroit, to several other Indian nations to attend this congress. Accordingly, Sir William being now arrived at Niagara, found there a vast concourse of the Indians, who had been thus summoned or invited, reinforced by an equal number of others, whom want of trade, or a desire of purchasing necessities, such as rum, blankets, &c. and even mere curiosity or accident had brought to the same place ; so that, upon the whole, this great meeting might be deemed as much almost the effect of chance as design. But, whatever motives these Indians might have had originally, for flocking together in this unusual manner, the pretext used by one part of them was to accommodate matters with the English ; and by the other, to offer their service for the expedition : but all, to the amount of at least seventeen hundred, expected presents, and, whilst at Niagara, received their daily subsistence. The Jenesses or Senecas, who had been most instrumental in beginning the war, but were now to attend and ratify the preliminaries for a peace signed at Johnson-Hall, kept aloof. Upon this, Sir
William

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William sent them repeated messages, which they answered by repeated promises of attendance, whilst, instead of preparing to fulfil them, they did nothing but deliberate amongst themselves, whether they should renew the war, or confirm the peace. Colonel Bradstreet, therefore, seeing no end of their arts to amuse Sir William, desired a peremptory message might be sent them, purporting, that if they did not repair to Niagara in five days, he would send some troops to destroy their settlements. This brought them to attend the congress; and on their delivering up some prisoners, Sir William concluded a peace with them, and made them presents. The Wyandots of Sandusky had sued to Major Gladwin at Detroit for a peace; and Pontiac's band was on the Miamis river waiting the result of this conference.

Colonel Bradstreet, having formed two corps of light infantry, under the command of Majors Daly and Le Hunt, and made some other necessary dispositions that had been still wanting, was become extremely anxious to proceed on the execution of his orders, which were, *to give peace to all such nations of Indians as would sue for it, and chastise those that continued in arms.* But Sir William Johnson beseeched him not to put the army in motion, as he suspected the sincerity of the Indians, although he had concluded a peace so recently with them; and even entertained some doubts, whether they would not make an attempt upon the fort when the troops had left it. Colonel Bradstreet yielded to these solicitations, and remained where he was, till Sir William had finished his business, and disposed of his presents to the Indians, about three hundred of whom accompanied the Colonel. But he ever thought himself obliged to regard them as spies, rather than employ them as auxiliaries.

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Sir William Johnson now returned home, and the rest of the Indians dispersed. The Colonel, therefore, after leaving a sufficient garrison at Niagara, and having been joined by a battalion of Canadians and part of the forty-sixth regiment, proceeded with his army, on the 6th of August, for Fort-Schlosser, where he halted till the 8th, for the arrival of the Indians who were to accompany him in the expedition. He then proceeded to Fort-Erie, and from thence, on the 10th, continued his route along the south-side of Lake-Erie, agreeable to the instructions he had received from General Gage. In the morning of the 12th, while detained at *L'Ance-Aux-Feuilles*, by contrary winds, he received a deputation from the Shawanese, the Delawares, the Hurons of Sandusky, and the Five Nations of the Scioto plains, suing for a peace; and in the evening he gave them an audience in the presence of the Sachems, and other chiefs of the Indians, who accompanied him.

The deputies, presenting the Colonel with four belts of wampum, endeavoured to excuse their respective nations, and to apologize for the murders they had committed, by saying, that these enormities were executed without the knowledge of any of their chief warriors, and merely by some young men, whom they would take care to chastise. They begged forgiveness for all past offences, and requested that the chain of friendship might be brightened, and that they might be permitted to enter into a peace with their brothers the English, to continue as long as the sun and moon should endure.

Colonel Bradstreet, in consequence of the instructions he had received from General Gage, and the great appearance of sincerity with which the deputies demanded peace, granted them the following preliminaries, which were to be ratified

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at Sandusky, when their prisoners should be delivered up to him.

- I. That all the prisoners, now in the hands of the nations who had deputed them, should be delivered up to Colonel Bradstreet at Sandusky, in twenty-five days from the 15th of this month.
- II. That the Shawanese, &c. should renounce all claim to the forts and other posts that the English now have in their country; and that the English shall be at liberty to erect as many more as they may think necessary to secure their trade; and that the nations, represented by the present deputation, shall cede to the King of Great Britain, for ever, as much land round each fort, as a cannon-shot will fly over, for the purpose of raising provisions thereon.
- III. That if any Indian shall hereafter kill an Englishman, he shall be delivered up by his nation, and tried by the English laws, half the jury being Indians; and if any one nation shall renew the war, the others who are represented by this deputation, shall join the English to bring them to reason.
- IV. That six of the deputies shall remain with Colonel Bradstreet as hostages; and the other four, with an English officer, and an Indian shall immediately proceed to acquaint their nations with these preliminaries of peace, and forward the collecting of the prisoners, that they may be ready by the day appointed.

These preliminaries were signed by the respective parties the 12th of August, 1764.

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The day following, Colonel Bradstreet, who had been detained all this time by bad weather, at *l'Ance-Aux-Feuilles*, proceeded on his route; and, on the 14th, reached *Presque-Isle*, where the fort stood which the Indians destroyed the last year. From this place, he sent expresses to General Gage and Colonel Bouquet, to inform them of his transactions with the Shawanese, Delawares, &c. and dispatched the four Indian deputies, on the errand mentioned in the preliminaries, to their respective nations; continuing his route with the other six, to the western point of *Presque-Isle*, where he halted till the next day, when he renewed his operations. From this to the 23d, the weather was variable, but nothing worth notice happened in the mean time. On that day, the Colonel arrived at *Point le Petit-Isle*, where he received intelligence, that a number of Indians were collected on the *Miamis* river, and determined to oppose his progress to *Detroit*. He therefore immediately prepared to attack them. But whilst on the *Lake-Erie* for that purpose, he was met by a deputation from them to sue for peace, and desire a conference at *Detroit*; for which place, they informed him, a number of their countrymen were already set out for that purpose. The Colonel thought proper to comply with their request; and finding the Indian encampment on the *Miamis* actually broken up, he returned to *Point le Petit-Isle*.

Colonel Bradstreet, thinking this a good opportunity to take possession of the country of the *Illinois*, which had been ceded to his Britannic Majesty by the peace of 1762, ordered Captain Morris, of the seventeenth regiment, with proper instructions, upon that service, with an Indian of each of the different nations that accompanied him, and one Godfroi, a Frenchman, as an interpreter; and he also sent

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presents for the different nations through which they were to pass. The Colonel then continued his route for Detroit, where he arrived about the 26th day of August. Major Gladwin, as soon as he heard of the Colonel's approach, sent Captain Grant of the eightieth regiment, to conduct him on shore, and paid him all the military honours due to his rank; whilst the Huron Indians, from their village on the opposite banks of the river, saluted him with their fusils, and welcomed him into their country with such expressions of joy and respect, as are usual amongst the savages of this part of America; and all these compliments were returned by the cannon in the boats.

Immediately on the Colonel's landing, orders were given for the troops to debark, and they were encamped northward of the fort. The garrison having sustained a long and severe blockade, during which they had experienced the want of every necessary of life, required more than ordinary refreshments. It may, therefore, be easily conceived, how the transition to ease and plenty, effected by the Colonel's arrival, operated on their spirits. They had now before their eyes a flattering prospect of peace; and possessed the means of acting offensively, should the Indians prove obstinate in continuing the war, and of offering up some of these faithless wretches to the manes of their comrades, who had fallen a sacrifice to their perfidiousness and cruelty. To confide in these savages, is the same thing as to be betrayed by them. Of this a striking instance happened during the blockade: The Indians having, on some occasion or another, desired a conference, Captain Campbell, of the Royal Americans, who had received from them very particular marks of their esteem, voluntarily offered his service to the Commandant for that purpose; and his offer being

being accepted, he repaired to their camp, in company with Lieutenant Macdougall, of the same regiment; but in a short time they were both made prisoners. Macdougall stole away, and, being young and active, had the good fortune to get back into the fort; but Campbell, being fat and unwieldy, and trusting besides too much to his influence over some of his old friends, took no pains to escape. The consequence was, that he was tomahawked and eaten.

Colonel Bradstreet, having seen the camp and the garrison secured by proper guards, his next care was to enquire into the conduct of the inhabitants, both of the place itself and its environs, during the blockade. To such as had shewn a proper zeal to assist the garrison, he gave all the encouragement in his power; punishing, at the same time, as far as in him lay, those who had expressed any inclination to the common foe, or shewed themselves lukewarm in the cause of their friends, which was indeed their own. The inhabitants without the fort, being in the claws, as it were, of a most cruel enemy, were obliged to comply with all their demands to the utmost of their abilities; and these demands (a thing, till this period, as we have already observed, unknown amongst the Indians) were always made by written order, drawn up in the name of the King of France, by the Frenchman who acted as secretary to Pondiac; and moreover, regularly authenticated by the addition of Pondiac's own signature.

The inhabitants were next formed into three companies of militia; and in naming the officers, due regard was had to their past services. The garrison was then relieved by seven companies of the seventeenth regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Campbell. The two other companies, with two

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companies of the new militia, and a detachment of artillery, were ordered to retake possession of Michilimackinack, under the command of Captain Howard, of the same regiment. Moreover, for the better security of that place, and the important purpose of more effectually supplying it with every kind of stores, Colonel Bradstreet ordered a vessel to attempt the passage into Lake-Huron; and this passage was happily effected by the skill, industry, and perseverance of Lieutenant St. Clair, of the fifteenth regiment of foot, who commanded on board the vessel, the first that ever entered that lake, with which it was of so much consequence to have a communication of this kind.

Indians of various nations now began to make their appearance, and demand audiences of Colonel Bradstreet. He therefore appointed the 7th of September to meet them in a general congress; but, in the mean time, some preliminaries were agreed upon, as a foundation for a general peace. At length, the day appointed for the congress being arrived, the Indians, in great numbers, particularly the Ottawas and Chippewas, assembled at the Colonel's tent; and seating themselves on the ground, agreeable to their usual custom, opened the congress, of which the following are the minutes.

Minutes of a Congress held with the Chiefs of the Ottawa and Chippewa Nations, with several others hereafter mentioned.

Wassong, Chief of the Chippewas.

“What I am going to say is in the name of myself, Attawatty, and all the young warriors of the Ottawas and Chippewas: we do not mean to give offence, and this string of wampum is to open your ears, and we expect to beheard patiently. We are
extremely

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extremely glad to find ourselves so well received, and hope you will give us peace. In the name of the two nations of Ottawas and Chippewas, we thank you for having compassion on ourselves, our wives, and families." They give a string of wampum repeating their thanks.

Wassong speaks again on a green belt.

" Brother, I beg you would hearken to Wassong Attawatty, Shammindawa, Outawany, Apockefs, and Abetto: Last year, God forsook us. God has now opened our eyes, and we desire to be heard. 'Tis God's will our hearts are altered. 'Twas God's will you had such fine weather to come to us. 'Tis God's will also, there should be peace and tranquillity all over the face of the earth and of the waters. Every thing that was done last year bad, was done by the old warriors, without cause: We have, therefore, turned them on one side. The young warriors are determined to settle every thing themselves, and prevent, for the future, any mischief that might be intended. The young warriors, as well as the old Sachems, thank you, and are glad to see the good disposition you are in. Now that the young people have the direction of affairs, they hope every thing may be settled peaceably; and that they may be permitted to shake hands with you and your officers, as brothers...

" This day the young chiefs break all their old chiefs; they shall never be allowed to act; but attention will be paid to what they say.

" You have forgiven us; but our offences are so great, we must again ask it, in the name of our wives and children. We also pray, that all your troops will have compassion on them

1764. and us; and hope they will remove any ill opinion they may have of them and us; and we thank the Great King for allowing you to forgive us, and grant us peace. We say this, not in our name only, but in the name of all the inhabitants round this country."—They shake hands.

Wassong speaks again on a string of purple and white wampum, painted green and blue.

" Brother, attend.—In the name of the Miamis I speak. They thank God for opening their eyes. They will use their utmost endeavours to restore tranquillity. 'Tis God's will there shall be peace all over the earth; and you shall hear nothing ill of them. They thank you, and are extremely glad to hear by the people you sent, that you will grant them peace. On their return, the village will be overjoyed, as they are at the peace with the Shawanese, &c.

" They once more thank God for opening their eyes. As soon as they get home, every thing will be established on the ancient footing of peace and friendship. Their sentiments are the same with those of the Ottawas and Chippewas; and they hope, that your army will lay aside all resentment against them; and that they may be allowed to shake hands as brothers. Again they ask for peace in the names of their wives and children."—They give the string.

Shammindawa speaks.

" When Captain Morris arrived at the Miamis, Pondiac spoke to him on a belt of wampum, saying, he was heartily ashamed of what had happened; and if he could be forgiven, he would be very thankful, and do all the service in his power

to the English; and that it gave him great pleasure to find, he, Captain Morris, was going on a business that would give peace and quietness to the inhabitants of the earth; that he would pray for his success, and remain quiet himself; and that, when Captain Morris returns, should he succeed, he will thank God for it, and hopes to be forgiven."

Colonel Bradstreet's Answer.

"The ingenuous confession of your folly last year, without any provocation from the English, affords me pleasure, as it gives me reason to believe your submissions sincere, and that your requests for mercy and forgiveness, come from your hearts. I shall take compassion on your distress, and grant you peace on the following terms."

- I. Yourselfes, and the nations you represent, must acknowledge, that you are the subjects and children of his Majesty George III. of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith; and that he has the sole right of sovereignty over all and every part of this country, in as full and ample a manner as in any part of his other dominions whatever.
- II. If any nation, or tribe of Indians herein comprehended, dare violate this peace, the others shall look on themselves as bound to make war upon the offenders, separately or jointly, with the English and their allies, at all times when they shall be commanded by his Majesty, his General, or Officer, appointed for that purpose, and reduce to reason the offenders, or extirpate them; and that you will, whenever commanded, take up arms and join his Majesty's troops, or other his subjects, against any of his enemies whatever, and use your utmost endeavours to execute the orders that may

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be given you for that purpose; and you may be assured of the protection of the King your Father, and what assistance you may stand in need of, at all times.

III. That you may shew farther proofs of your duty and obedience to the King your Father, should it happen that any Indians belonging to the herein mentioned nations plunder or kill any of his Majesty's subjects, in this or any other of his colonies, now settled, or that hereafter may be settled, you are voluntarily, and immediately, to deliver the offender up to the officer commanding this garrison, to be tried and punished, agreeable to the laws and customs of this colony at that time in force.

IV. You must deliver up all prisoners and deserters that you have, as soon as possible. Should any white people desert to you, you are to send them immediately, prisoners to the post or settlement, nearest to you. But, when any families come to settle, by permission of the King, you are to esteem them friends and brothers.

V. The French commanding officers have, at times, granted lands in some of your villages: To give you a testimony of my intentions to do you the greatest justice, I will oblige all persons settled on such lands, to remove immediately.

VI. At the request of Captain Morris, whom I have sent round to all the southern nations, respecting the general peace; and also, on account of Pondiac's submission, and promise of future good behaviour and friendship to the English, I do hereby pardon him, and he may meet me with the utmost safety at Sandusky.

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The above conditions being reduced into writing, were ratified by the parties in the following form:

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" By the power and authority to me given and granted by his Excellency the Honourable Major General Thomas Gage, Commander-in-Chief of all his Majesty's forces in North-America, the above are the terms on which I grant peace to the nations heretofore mentioned, that is to say, the Ottawas and Chippewas, and others hereunto subscribing.

Given under my hand and seal, at Detroit,
the 7th day of September, 1764.

(Signed) JOHN BRADSTREET."

" By the power to us given by the nations we represent, we do, in their names, together with ourselves, most gratefully accept the terms above granted; and we do most solemnly bind ourselves and them to the true performance of each article in every respect.

" In witness thereof, we have hereunto affixed the arms of the nations we represent, at Detroit, this 7th day of September, 1764, and in the fourth year of the reign of our now Sovereign Lord King George, &c."

(The signatures are) A Stork, an Eel, and a Stag.

" We hereunto subscribing, and several principal men of our nation of Hurons, being present at the above submission, made by the Ottawas and Chippewas, and at the peace granted to them; and being unanimously of opinion, that nothing can tend so much to the real safety and happiness of all the Indians on this continent, as following their example, in begging

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the protection, and making themselves the subjects of his Majesty King George III. and at all times obeying his will and commands, and strictly keeping up to every article of the peace concluded with the Ottawas and Chippewas, most humbly request for ourselves, and the nation we represent, to be received, considered, and comprehended in every article of the submission made by the Chippewas and Ottawas, and the peace granted to them, as fully and as amply as the said Ottawas and Chippewas; promising most faithfully, never to violate, or depart from any article therein contained.

“ In witness thereof, we have hereunto set the arms of the nation of Hurons, this 7th day of September, 1764, and in the fourth year, &c.”

(The Signature) A Deer with a Cross.

“ I the subscriber, being a Chief of the Miamis, and being sent to be present at what should pass between the English, the Ottawas and the Chippewas; and also, being directed by the nation I represent, if a peace should be concluded, to implore that the Miamis might be comprehended therein, in every respect, as fully as the said Ottawas and Chippewas; which being granted to me, I do, in the name of the nation I represent, bind myself and them, in the most solemn manner, to the true performance of each article, in every respect, as the Ottawas and Chippewas have done.

“ In witness thereof, I do affix the arms of the nation I represent, this 7th day of September, 1764, and in the reign, &c. &c.”

(The Signature) A Turtle.

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" We the subscribers, Chiefs of the Pottawattomic and Sakie nations, having come too late to be present at the submission, made by the Ottawas and Chippewas, and the peace granted them, which having been fully explained to us, and we approving every part thereof, having the same just sense of this good work as the Hurons; and whereas peace is granted to us on the same conditions, we do most gratefully accept it, and hereby bind ourselves, and the whole of each nation we represent, to the true performance of each article in every respect, by hereunto affixing the arms of our respective nations, at Detroit, this 7th day of September, 1764, and in the fourth year, &c. &c."

(The Signature) A Fox, an Eel, and a Bear.

" This day, being the 9th of September, 1764, Wapacomagat, with ninety young warriors, came to Detroit, and desired to have admittance to Colonel Bradstreet, which was granted; and after the usual compliments, he, Wapacomagat, desired Colonel Bradstreet would explain to him and his people, the substance of what had passed between him and the several nations of Indians, with whom he had made peace, which being also complied with, Wapacomagat got up, and declared, That it gave him infinite pleasure to find, that the Indians had put themselves into the arms of the great King of England, and that they were now his subjects and children; and begged that he, and all the nations of the Messassaguas, might be received and comprehended in that submission and peace, in as full and ample manner as those who had subscribed to it; which being granted, Wapacomagat, in the presence of one hundred warriors, set the arms of their nation to these presents, the 10th instant, declaring he did it at the unanimous desire and request of all his people present; and that he, they,

1764. and the rest of the nation, were solemnly bound to fulfil, obey, and observe every part of the submission and articles of peace, made at Detroit, by the nations thereunto subscribing, bearing date the 7th September, 1764."

(The Signature) An Eagle with a medal round its neck.

The business with the Indians being thus happily finished, and peace thereby restored to the English settlements, Colonel Bradstreet began to prepare for his return to Sandusky, to meet the Shawanese and the Delawars, and put the finishing hand to the treaty which he had entered upon with the deputies of these nations on the Lake-Eric, and fixed the 24th of September for his departure: But he first gave such orders for the security and tranquillity of the inhabitants, and the advancement of agriculture and trade, as could not fail, in time, to render this infant colony both happy in itself, and useful to the mother-country. To be convinced of this, we need only take a transient view of this delightful spot, a description of which, we hope, may be agreeable, as, on account of its remoteness, the ideas most people entertain of this country, are very much circumscribed. The country called Detroit, is that washed by the strait which forms the communication between the Lakes St. Clair and Eric. The improvements on the eastern banks of this strait, extend north and south, about nine miles; and those on the western banks, about seven. In purity and wholesomeness of air, and richness of soil, it may be said to equal, if not excel any, even the best parts of America. Every European grain flourishes here in the utmost perfection; and hemp and flax, in particular, might be raised to the greatest advantage. The woods are every where filled with vines of spontaneous growth; and their grape yields a juice equal

in flavour to the most excellent burgundy. The country around it appears like one great park stocked with buffaloes, deer, pheasants, wild turkies, and partridges. Domestic animals and fowls are here in the utmost perfection. Aquatic birds of every species are in the greatest plenty, and of the highest flavour; and the rivers afford an astonishing variety of the most delicious fish. The soil and climate are so favourable to vegetation, that every vegetable is to be procured with the smallest trouble. In short, a man that can shoot and fish, and understands the art of making wine, may enjoy every luxury of the most sumptuous table, at the sole expence of his own labour. The inhabitants of Detroit are not numerous; and, notwithstanding the allurements which plenty holds forth to people to settle here, the want of a sufficient force to secure them against the caprice of the neighbouring Indians, and of authority to secure good order amongst themselves, has hitherto deterred such as have any settlements elsewhere, from endeavouring to partake of the abundant produce of nature, at the expence of the property they already enjoy, and perhaps their lives. But should Detroit be ever formed into a regular government, we will venture to prophecy, that it will greatly extend itself; and from the plenty, variety, and richness of its produce, prove a beneficial settlement to the mother-country.

Here it may not be amiss to give the numbers of the savages, who inhabit the country within five or six days march of Detroit, as taken from their own accounts.

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Of Detroit.

Ottawas,	-	-	-	220
Chippewas,	-	-	-	300
Sakies,	-	-	-	50
Hurons,	-	-	-	80

Of Sagunam, including those of St. Joseph.

Chippewas,	-	-	-	150
Potawatomes,	-	-	-	450

Of Sandusky.

Hurons,	-	-	-	200
Miamis,	-	-	-	250
Weaugh,	-	-	-	230

 Total, 1930

We shall now resume the detail of military operations, and conduct our readers to another spot, where Nature has not been less bountiful; but at present it is destitute of inhabitants.

On the 14th of September, Colonel Bradstreet left Detroit, garrisoned with seven companies of the seventeenth regiment, and a detachment of artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Campbell; and on the 18th arrived at Sandusky Lake. He then detached a party to destroy the settlement of Mohican-Johns; but it was abandoned before they could reach it. The day following, an Indian arrived from the Delawares, one from the Shawanese, and one from the Five Nations on the Scioto plains, accompanied by a Tuscarora Indian, who had accompanied these deputies to Fort-Pitt, with a string and belt of wampum, to inform the commanding officer, that they were using the utmost diligence in collecting their prisoners; and that they should be delivered up at Sandusky, as soon as possible;

possible; but that as many of them were hunting, and others at a great distance, the chiefs requested an additional seven days from that time. This being thought no unreasonable demand, it was accordingly granted. Colonel Bradstreet then proceeded up Sandusky river, to the village of the Hurons and Wyandots, which had been destroyed by Captain Dalyell the preceding year. Here he received letters from General Gage, condemning his conduct, with regard to the late preliminaries of peace with the Shawanese and the Delawares; and insisting, that he had not given him any power to conclude peace, as these preliminaries implied; but had ordered him to refer the Indians to Sir William Johnson, on any business of that kind, and to act in concert with Colonel Bouquet. The 2d of September was the date of the letter now in question; and that part of General Gage's instructions, which relate to this business, has, in the third article, the following words:

“ And the objects I recommend for your offensive operations are, to attack the Wyandots of Sandusky, who live some miles beyond the small village destroyed the last year by Captain Dalyell. Major Gladwin says, they are much animated against us; that they have a good supply of ammunition; and plant abundance of corn, with which they supply the other nations; and this you will, no doubt, destroy, and break up that nest of thieves. I must require likewise, that you make an attack on the Delawares and the Shawanese, who are retired on the Muskingham and Scioto rivers. The way to the first is up the Cayahaga-Creek, which runs into Lake-Erie, betwixt Presque-Isle and Sandusky. You may gain the Scioto from Sandusky-river, there being but a small carrying-place betwixt these two rivers. You will chuse either of these routes you shall find most preferable

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ferable for your attacks, from the intelligence you shall gain on the spot."

And in the eighth article:

" You will give the Indians, in general, to understand, that you go with a body of troops to chastise such nations as shall continue in arms against us; to offer peace and his Majesty's protection to those who shall conclude a lasting peace, and live in amity and friendship with us."

And in the last article:

" You will be on the spot, and I must trust for the execution of every thing to your discretion and judgment."

It will be impossible, we believe, for any one who will attend to the above instructions, to entertain the least doubt of Colonel Bradstreet's having been invested with authority to attack the Indians, and grant peace to such of them as asked it, *and wished to live in amity and friendship with us.*

But these instructions are greatly corroborated by a letter from General Gage, dated the 16th of August, in which he says, in answer to one from Colonel Bradstreet, acquainting him with the business at Niagara, and that he was going directly to Detroit;

" As you are gone directly to Detroit, I must conclude it is with a resolution to bring matters to a final decision, by either *making a formal and regular peace with the Wyandots and Ottawas of Sandusky, Potawatamies, and Chippewas of Saguanam; or to attack*

attack them, though the opportunity of distressing them effectually, by destroying their corn, is lost. You'll please, without delay, either to bring these nations to such a peace, as shall, to appearance, be sincere and lasting, or, in failure of that, to attack them, and do your best to extirpate them."

These orders are certainly very clear, and if Colonel Bradstreet was authorised to grant peace to the Wyandots of Sandusky, &c. which the General himself allows he had, by supposing he was gone upon that errand, and yet not blaming him for it; he was equally authorised to grant it to the Shawanese and the Delawares; as the order respecting them, in the General's instructions to the Colonel, with that likewise respecting the Wyandots, &c. was the same. But as a farther proof, that General Gage had invested Colonel Bradstreet with the power of making peace, it need only be observed, that the instructions given by Sir William Johnson to that part of the Six Nations, and to the Indian Captains under him who joined the army, and were to act under the command of Colonel Bradstreet, were, *to make war on such nations of Indians as did not sue for peace; and that peace was to be granted to all those nations who did ask it, without any exception.*

From these abstracts it appears very evident, that General Gage invested Colonel Bradstreet with powers, either to make war or to conclude a peace, according to the conduct of the savages. And as to his consulting Sir William Johnson, and sending the Indians to him to conclude a peace, Sir William Johnson's name was never mentioned, either in Colonel Bradstreet's instructions or letters, but once; which was, to desire that Colonel Bradstreet would correspond with Sir

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William. Nor was there any order, instruction, or letter, which so much as hinted any intention that the army under the command of Colonel Bradstreet was to act in concert with that commanded by Colonel Bouquet; nor indeed was it possible it could at the distance of three hundred miles from each other.

We must then conclude, that when it appeared Colonel Bradstreet had laid a foundation for settling the whole business with the Indians, without any assistance from Colonel Bouquet's army, such proceedings greatly alarmed the ambition of the latter: For, if the preliminaries which the former had signed, as a foundation for a peace with the Shawanese and the Delawares had been ratified, and the prisoners delivered up agreeable thereto, there would have been an end to the service expected from the army of Colonel Bouquet, whose orders were to attack these two nations, and to compel them to deliver up their prisoners to him. Colonel Bouquet, therefore, affected to doubt the sincerity of the nations represented by the deputies, who had signed the preliminaries with Colonel Bradstreet; and without halting to see, if their intentions were real or not, he prosecuted his operations according to his original plan.

The same motive urged him to exert his influence over General Gage; and he succeeded so well as to induce him to deny even his own orders to Colonel Bradstreet.

Upon the whole, it appears, that Colonel Bouquet's ambition was too powerful for General Gage's easiness of temper, which yielded to the desire of giving an eclat to the Colonel's manœuvres, at the expence of Colonel Bradstreet, and even of the service of his country.

But to return to Colonel Bradstreet, whom we left on his progress up the Sandusky-river, to the village of the Hurons and Wyandots; this was the route prescribed him in General Gage's instructions for gaining the Scioto, on a supposition, that there was a small carrying-place only between that and the Sandusky-river: But on making the trial, there was not water enough even for a canoe, above the rapids of Sandusky-river, although in the winter there may be sixteen or seventeen feet, as appeared by the bark of the trees growing near it. Disappointed in this attempt, the Colonel then considered whether it was practicable for the men to carry a sufficiency of provisions to subsist upon, supposing they were to march; but from repeated trials, and the information of some of the most experienced hunters, both Canadian and others, it was represented as an impossibility, therefore not attempted.

To reach the Muskingham river by the Cayahaga-Creek, which falls into Lake-Erie, between Sandusky and Presque-Isle, was the alternative, which Colonel Bradstreet was ordered to use, in order to get up with and attack the Shawanese and Delawares collected on the Muskingham and Scioto rivers. But unluckily, the Cayahaga-Creek was now dry; and besides, the carrying-place from the creek to the Muskingham-river, which had been represented a very small way, proved to be upwards of thirty miles. When a General is ignorant of the topography of a country in which troops under him are to act, it is impossible his orders should avoid censure; for attempts to execute them may be attended with the most fatal consequences to a whole army, which, in this case, may be compared to a ship sailing by false charts and faithless soundings,

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which, striking on a shoal, does not discover the illusion till it is too late to guard against it.

The Colonel, thus frustrated in two attempts to attack a people, with whom he had so recently signed the preliminaries of general peace, encamped at the carrying-place at Sandusky, as the situation of that place would enable him to be a check on any of the western nations, which might shew any disposition to assist the Shawanese and Delawares against Colonel Bouquet's army. But these Indians discovered no intentions to give any farther trouble; their sole aim, to all appearance at least, being to conclude, at any rate, a lasting peace. The distress in which they were involved by so long a war, induced them to wish for a state of tranquillity; and they were actually making the necessary preparations to repair to Sandusky with their prisoners: But Colonel Bouquet's pressing in upon them, robbed Colonel Bradstreet and his army of the honour of concluding a work which they had commenced on Lake-Erie, and which would have been effected without Colonel Bouquet's assistance; for the Indians of the Six Nations had already sent the Shawanese and Delawares a message, importing, that they would immediately take up the hatchet against them, if they did not, in the strictest manner, fulfil every article of the preliminaries they had signed with Colonel Bradstreet; and this taking up of the hatchet by the Six Nations, was a thing the Shawanese and Delawares dreaded much more than the presence of the most formidable European army that could be sent against them; for, when one Indian nation takes up the hatchet against another, it is never laid down till one or the other is entirely exterminated. As a proof of the sincerity of the Shawanese and Delawares, three of the hostages first kept by Colonel Bradstreet,

still continued with him, and even consented to a fresh demand of General Gage's, that ten of the chiefs of these nations should be put to death ; and that the nations should wait, in a proper manner, on Sir William Johnson, to sue for a peace. Moreover, the Six Nations again declared their resolution to take up the hatchet against them, if they attempted to deceive Colonel Bradstreet.

Letters had been received from Captain Morris, giving an account of the progress he had made in his journey, and the reception he had met with from the Indians. It was with great difficulty he reached the fort on the Miamis-river, where he met a number of savages, from whom he narrowly escaped with his life, as the account of the peace had not yet reached them.

The Indians who accompanied Captain Morris returned ; but though they were considered as those who could be most relied upon for their fidelity to us ; yet they brought with them a white flag, which they had received from one St. Vincent, a Frenchman, at the Miamis fort, as an inducement to persevere in their attachment to the French nation ; and they were, besides, taught to believe, that the French would soon arrive by the Mississippi, and drive the English entirely out of the country. It was by accident this flag was discovered ; and then it was publicly burnt. At the same time, the Sachems gave Colonel Bradstreet the strongest assurances of their fidelity, and of their being fully bent upon exerting the utmost of their power, to bring to reason any nation of Indians who should not accede to the treaty of peace that had been concluded with so many of their countrymen. As a proof of their intentions, a scouting party, consisting of twenty warriors, headed
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by Cocknawaga-Peter, set out from the camp to make war upon the Shawanese and the Delawares, should these nations give any just cause to suspect their fidelity. Colonel Bradstreet seized this opportunity to write to Colonel Bouquet, and charged Peter with his letters for him. In these letters he informed the Colonel, that he was encamped at the carrying-place at Sandusky; that he intended to remain there so long as possible, to favour his operations; particularly by prevailing on the western Indians to take up the hatchet against such of their countrymen as might still betray a desire of continuing the war. When Cocknawaga-Peter returned, he brought with him an Indian scalp, as a proof of the attachment to the English with which he had set out.

Colonel Bradstreet continued in the situation in which we just now left him, a considerable time, still exerting his endeavours to favour the operations of Colonel Bouquet, though the badness of the weather, and a very near prospect of scarcity, often reminded him of the necessity there was of his speedily setting out on his return, unless he chose to expose himself and his army to the greatest danger of perishing ashore by famine, or on the lakes by tempest. But at length, his ardour for the good of the service was obliged to yield to the duty he owed his troops; and, on the 18th of October, he broke up his camp at Sandusky to proceed on his return to Albany. In the evening, as he was going to land the troops, a sudden swell of the lake, without any visible cause, destroyed several of his boats; but no lives were lost. This surprising phenomenon was, however, looked upon as the forerunner of a storm; and accordingly there soon arose one, which continued several days; therefore, it became necessary to detach part of the army by land to Niagara, with just provisions enough for
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the march, and order from thence a sufficiency to meet the remainder on the lake. The troops which proceeded by land suffered greatly during the march, but they got there safely at last, as did, on the 4th of November, those which followed in boats. On their arrival, Colonel Bradstreet ordered them plenty of fresh provisions. The issuing of some necessary orders relating, as well to the troops which the Colonel proposed taking along with him, as to those which were to remain in garrison at Niagara, detained him there till the 10th, when he proceeded, in the vessels, with the regulars and provincials that were to go down the country; with great difficulty he reached Ontario, after losing the Johnson snow, just as she was going into the harbour; but the men were saved. As there now remained no obstacle or danger in the farther progress of these troops to Albany or New-York, we shall take our leave of them, to turn our eyes to another scene of this Indian war; that part of it, which was to be conducted by Colonel Bouquet.

The operations intrusted to this officer were to be executed by part of the forty-second and sixtieth regiments, in conjunction with the Pennsylvania and Virginia militia. Proper escorts, with provisions and other stores, having been first sent off for Fort-Pitt, where they arrived without any molestation from the Indians, the remainder of the army followed; and reached that place on the 17th of September.

The whole of his troops, amounting to about fifteen hundred men, being assembled at Fort-Pitt, he left that place on the 3d of October. On the 6th, whilst in the neighbourhood of Beaver-Creek, a man, who had escaped from the Indians, informed him, that, the preceding day, some Indians had been on the same

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same road with his army; but being alarmed at the strength of it, had carefully concealed themselves. On the 8th, the army passed Little Beaver-Creek. On the 14th, whilst it lay encamped at Tuscarowas, there arrived two men, who had been dispatched from Fort-Pitt by Colonel Bouquet, with letters for Colonel Bradstreet, in answer to some dispatches received from him. They had been made prisoners in their journey, some miles from that place, by the Delawares, and conducted to one of their villages about sixteen miles off; and kept there till the savages received advice of the arrival of the army at this place, when they were set at liberty, and charged to tell the Colonel, that the chiefs of the Shawanese and Delawares were on the road, and advancing as fast as possible, to treat of a peace with him. Two days after, six Indians came in, and informed the Colonel, that all their chiefs were assembled about eight miles from his camp, and ready to treat with him on peace, which they sincerely desired to conclude. The Colonel, to lose no time, appointed the very next day, being the 16th, for that purpose; when, accordingly, Kiyaschuta, a chief of the Senecas, with fifteen warriors, Custaloga and Castor, chiefs of the Delawares, with twenty warriors, and Keiffenautchta, a chief of the Shawanese, with six warriors, in quality of deputies from their respective nations, produced their belts of wampum, and opened the congress.

Their speeches consisted chiefly of excuses: They endeavoured to palliate their perfidious conduct, by throwing all the blame on the western nations, and the insolent rashness of their young warriors, and then, in the most abject manner, sued for peace; each deputation promising to deliver up all the prisoners in the hands of their respective nations. When they had said every thing they could think of to appease the Colonel,

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nel, he informed them, that he would give his answer the next day; but bad weather intervening, it was the 20th before they could meet again, when the Colonel addressed the savages, and began by saying;

“ The pretext with which you pretend to cover your fault, by throwing the blame on the western nations, and on the insolence of your young men, is frivolous to the last degree: For, if you could not protect yourselves against the western nations, you might have depended on the assistance of the English. As to your young men, it is your duty to keep them within proper bounds, and chastise them if they did amiss.”

He then gave many instances of their perfidy. He upbraided them with their pillaging, captivating, and even murdering the traders, whom they had invited and requested to come and trade with them. He took notice of their besieging Fort-Pitt, though built by their own express permission; and of their enormous violation of a right always held sacred, even by the most barbarous nations, in the persons of four public messengers from the English, whom they had put to death; of their insolence in presuming to attack the King's troops the preceding year, and their inveteracy in continuing hostilities to the very moment of his now speaking to them. He concluded by telling them, that if they would deliver into his hands, at Waukatamike, all the prisoners they had, without exception, French as well as English, women and children, not excepting those adopted or married into their tribes; all, in short, who were to be found among them; and furnish them with clothing and horses to bring them to Fort-Pitt, and provisions during

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the journey, he would grant them the peace they solicited ; but upon no other terms whatever.

The chiefs of the Delawares had produced, on the first day of this congress, eighteen white prisoners, with eighty-three small sticks, representing the number of those that yet remained among them, whom they promised to bring in as soon as possible ; and the other chiefs made the same promise with regard to theirs. The Colonel, judging that the most effectual way to make them fulfil their engagements, would be to go and meet the poor captives, and take an Indian of each nation to accompany him in his route, made the proper requisition for that purpose ; and having obtained his demand, put his army in motion again, on the 22d. On the 25th, he encamped on a spot near the Muskingham-river ; it being more central than Waukatamike, both for the Indians to bring in their prisoners, and for himself to march against such of them as should not punctually comply with their promises.

On the 28th of October, Cocknawaga-Peter, the chief of the Indians of that name, who had been sent, as we have already seen, on a scout by Colonel Bradstreet, and was likewise charged by him with letters for Colonel Bouquet, arrived in the camp. On the 9th of November, the Indians brought in most of their prisoners, consisting of thirty-two Virginia men and fifty-eight women and children ; forty-nine Pennsylvania men, and sixty-seven women and children ; with Major Smallman, who had been taken the year before by the Wyandots, near Detroit, and by them delivered up to the Shawanese. This gentleman informed the Colonel, that the reason why all the prisoners were not brought in was, that many of the chiefs

chiefs were gone to trade with the French; and added, that a report having spread among the Indians, at the approach of his army, that it was his intention to extirpate them, they took the resolution of killing all their prisoners, and defending themselves to the last man; that a French trader amongst them, who had many barrels of powder and ball with him, made them a present of the whole, on their taking this resolution; but that, happily for the captives, whilst the Shawanese were preparing to act this bloody tragedy, they received the Colonel's message, that he had nothing in view but to rescue their English captives from slavery, and grant peace to them, on the same conditions he had already granted it to the Delawares.

On the 9th of November, Colonel Bouquet, accompanied by all the principal officers of the army, held a conference with the Senecas and Delawares. Kigashuta, with ten warriors, represented the former, and Custaloga, at the head of twenty warriors, the latter. Kigashuta opened the conference with saying:

“ With this belt of wampum, I wipe the tears from your eyes. We deliver to you these three prisoners, the last of your flesh and blood that remained amongst the Senecas, and amongst the Delaware tribe of Custaloga. With this belt we assemble and bury the bones of those who have been killed in this unhappy war, which the evil spirit excited us to kindle. We bury these bones, never more to be thought upon. We cover the burying-place with leaves, that it may be no more seen; and as we have been a long time opposing each other, and the roads between us have been shut up; we offer this belt to

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clear, clean, and open them, that we may travel in peace to our brothers, as our ancestors did. As long as you hold it firm at one end, and we at the other, we cannot fail discovering and preventing every thing that may interrupt our friendship."

Colonel Bouquet replied :

" I have heard with pleasure what has been said to me. I accept the three prisoners, as the last you have to give up; and I join with you in interring the bones of those that war has destroyed, in such a manner, that the place of their interment shall be hid from the eyes of the living. As to peace, I shall no longer oppose it. The King, my Master, and your Father, sends me to make war only; he employs other servants on the affairs of peace. Sir William Johnson is furnished with full powers to treat with you. You must address yourselves to him. But, before I permit you to depart, two things must be adjusted between us: 1st, As the peace will not be finally concluded here, you must deliver two hostages for the Senecas, and two others for the tribe of Custaloga, to remain in our hands at Fort-Pitt, as a security to us, that you commit no violence against any of his Majesty's subjects; and, when peace shall be concluded, these hostages shall be faithfully returned. 2dly, The deputies you send to Sir William Johnson, must be furnished with full powers to treat for your tribes. In the treaties to be made with you, whatever concerns the trade will be regulated in such a manner as will endure for ever; and you must now name the deputies for my approbation."

Another

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Another conference was held the day following, being the 10th, with the Delawares of the Turkey and the Turtle tribes, in the presence of the Senecas, and the Delawares of Custaloga's tribe. The result of this meeting was, that the same number of deputies should be sent to Sir William Johnson on their part, and the same number of hostages left, as had been agreed upon for Custaloga's tribe: accordingly, King Custor presented the Colonel, next day, with six hostages, to remain with him, and five deputies to treat with Sir William Johnson, who were all approved.

On the 12th, the Colonel held a conference with the Shawanese, who consented to deliver up their prisoners in the spring, at Fort-Pitt; as they were, at this time, at a great distance hunting with their masters, it was impossible to do it sooner. But then, they gave hostages for the performance of their engagements, and appointed deputies to wait on Sir William Johnson, to conclude a peace; both hostages and deputies being such as Colonel Bouquet approved.

All the purposes of the Colonel's expedition being thus accomplished, he decamped on the 18th of November, and began his route for Fort-Pitt, where he arrived on the 28th. The regular troops were then disposed of in the forts, and the provincials, with the prisoners that had been given up, ordered to their respective provinces.

The hostages, who were approved by Colonel Bouquet, did not think proper to observe their engagements: They broke their confinement and returned to their own country. However, we cannot conclude this work without observing, that
although

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although the savages did not, in this respect, keep their faith with Colonel Bouquet, yet they regarded the preliminaries and the peace which they had signed with Colonel Bradstreet in so sacred a light, that to this hour, they have not violated, in the smallest degree, any one of the articles, and are still desirous of continuing the blessings they thereby enjoy, and the conveniences they daily experience from a free and mutual intercourse with the different provinces.

* * * * *

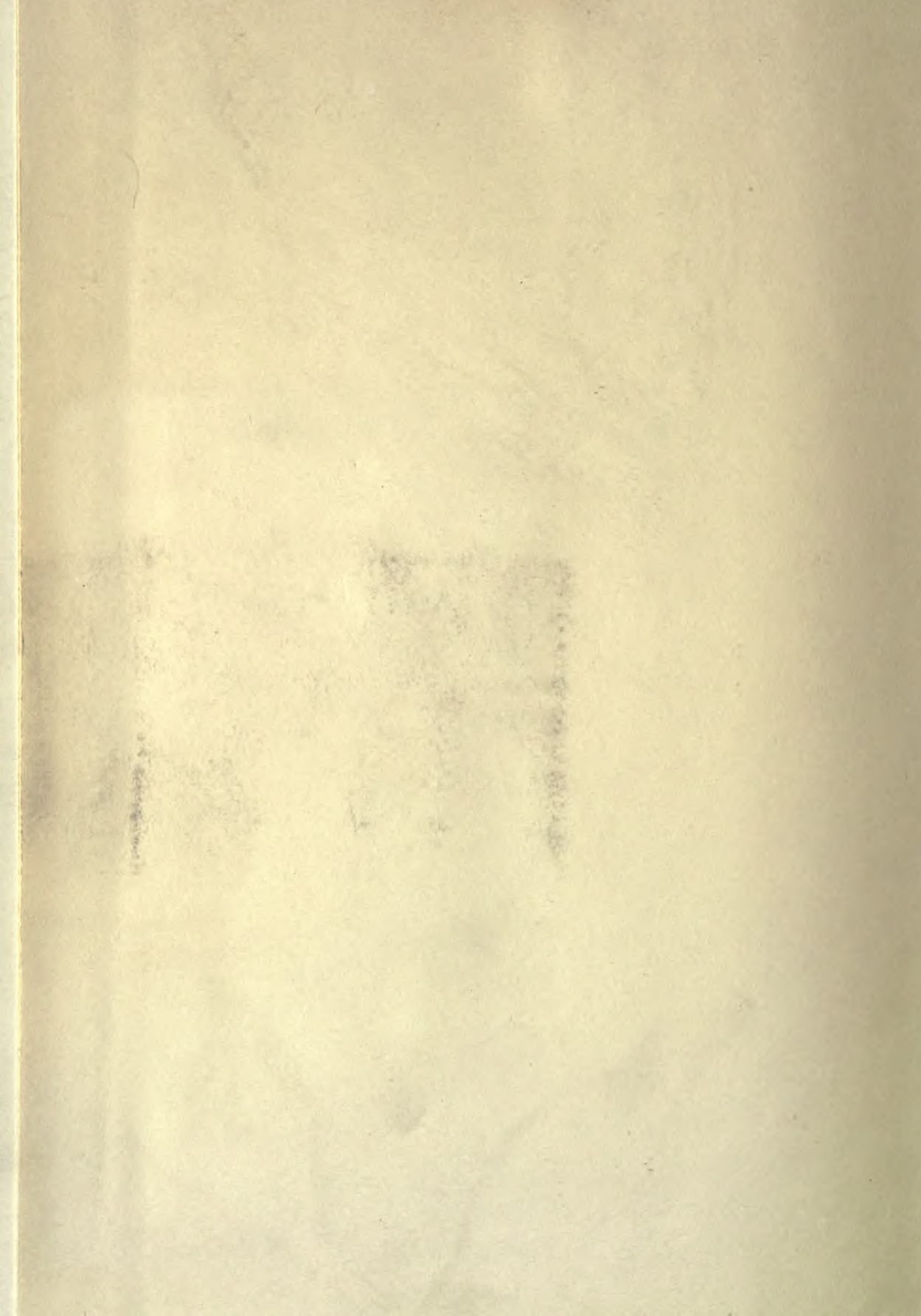
THUS have we brought down to the time proposed, the history which we engaged to give the public. But we cannot take leave of the generous encouragers of this undertaking, without expressing our grateful acknowledgments for the journals and plans communicated to us by many general and other respectable officers, employed on the different services which we have related. The only merit we pretend to in this compilation, is, our having strictly adhered to that impartiality which ought to be the first consideration of every historian.

The execution of the plans in general, and their utility in a work of this kind, must so effectually recommend them, as to make it needless for us to speak in their behalf. We shall only add, that no expence or labour has been spared on our part, and every possible care has been taken to render this work as perfect as the nature of the subject would admit.

THE END.

E R R A T A.

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|------|------|------|-----|---|
| Page | 29. | Line | 27. | For <i>Albany</i> , read <i>Ofwego</i> . |
| | 61. | | 8. | For <i>were</i> , read <i>was</i> . |
| | 99. | | 12. | For <i>Sutherland</i> , read <i>Sunderland</i> . |
| | 115. | | 6. | Omit <i>third battalion</i> , and add it to the next line. |
| | | | 18. | Omit <i>second battalion</i> , and add it to the next line. |
| | 144. | | | To the list of troops add <i>Gage's light infantry</i> . |
| | 232. | | 27. | For <i>upon the Lake-Erie</i> , read <i>in the neighbourhood of Lake-Erie</i> . |
| | 289. | | 11. | Between <i>but</i> and <i>the</i> , add <i>seeing</i> . |
| | 402. | | 15. | Omit <i>Senegal and</i> . |
| | 472. | | 15. | For <i>17th</i> , read <i>16th</i> . |
| | 480. | | 29. | For <i>are</i> , read <i>were</i> . |
| | 485. | | 6. | Omit <i>or disbanded</i> . |
| | 493. | | 4. | After <i>arrows</i> , a full stop; omit the rest of the line. |
| | 529. | | 8. | For <i>bad</i> , read <i>was</i> . |



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227/300

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M3

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